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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2041

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESOLUTIONS OF 13TH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONGRESS SUMMARIZED

East Berlin LDPD-INFORMATIONEN in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 82 pp 3-5

[Lead article by Dr Rudolf Agsten, member, Political Committee; and secretary, Central Executive Committee, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD): "Tasks of Political-Ideological Work After 13th Party Congress: Intellectual Internalization of the Resolutions." The 13th LDPD Congress took place in Weimar, 5-7 April 1982]

[Text] Our 13th party congress has laid down the party tasks for participating in the implementation of the general policy line as issued by the 10th SED Congress for the 1980's in the GDR, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. It has brought out clearly what new and higher demands accrue to the liberal democrats as alliance partners of the workers class and its party and what our party expects of its members. Special attention here was given to the great variety of the members' occupational and public activities and to the concrete opportunities the executive committees have in encouraging them in it.

The Central Executive Committee report to the 13th party congress explained in detail how the LDPD asserts its firm place within the political organization of socialism and thereby meets its overall social responsibility. This it does, for one thing--and this is the only point with which we intend to deal here--in that it works among all its members and citizens close to it on shaping a socialist consciousness and enables them fully to exercise their civic rights and duties and accomplish high achievements for socialist society in their activities on the job and in their home environment. This permanent consciousness-forming function of our party and the liberal democrats' unity of words and deeds, to be effected thereby time and time again, in the struggle for peace and the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is the primary element that determines our party activities in a decisive sense. Among the variety and complexity of factors affecting our members' socialist consciousness formation and personality development on the whole, the specific contribution made to it by our party remains indispensable. What follows from it was emphasized by our party chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach in the Central Executive Committee report, when he said: "Ideological work pervades, determines and marks all party activity and remains the centerpiece of our party work."

The new and higher requirements for the 1980's do of course also determine the content and style of our political-ideological work. Dr Gerlach commented on that as follows: "One must realize here that the level of these requirements is not solely determined by such objective processes as the shaping of developed socialism in the 1980's or the exacerbation of the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism. On the part of the subject, the addressee and partner of our ideological work, important changes are taking place as well."

We have to realize that the intellectual demands of men have grown and keep growing. Nearly two-thirds of today's LDPD membership joined our party after the transition period from capitalism to socialism had come to an end. They grew up and were educated under socialist conditions. The fact is that the scientific world-outlook of the workers class has gained ground and keeps gaining more ground also among the liberal democrats. That has been fostered, not last, by our party's own ideological work. It has become our business to continue and deepen that process while keeping it in close touch with life. But then we also must not ignore that the individuals' identification with the world-outlook of the workers class differs from case to case and by no means constitutes a criterion for LDPD membership.

What we are after is to reinforce permanent basic socialist convictions. That mainly means: a deliberate partiality on behalf of the GDR and the irrevocable conviction that our course is correct and socialism is victorious in our era. "The truthfulness of political pledges," our party chairman affirmed, "is shown when in complicated political situations words agree with deeds. If all members occupy such firm positions, it will never happen that adverse manifestations that may at times oppose our development lead to doubt and reservations. The attitude of partiality assumed by the liberal democrats at any time is a yardstick for the quality of our political-ideological work!"

It is, of course, impossible to form, deepen and reinforce basic socialist conviction or a steady loyalty to the workers and farmers power without political knowledge about social processes and interconnections. With respect to this also we must heed a truth confirmed in practice a thousand times: any party functionary who because of his knowledge and abilities has much to offer other members still always also receives a lot. He himself gains new and more advanced knowledge through friendly party debate and through seeking a comprehension of, and a mode to make comprehensible, the social problems of our age.

In the past it could happen that some members quit the party because they had, as it were, "grown beyond the LDPD." Today--actually for quite some years already--such an argument is untenable and, as a rule, an evasion of the responsibility every liberal democrat assumes, according to the 13th party congress resolutions, also, and especially, vis-a-vis the workers class and its party.

Typical of all problems dealt with at the party congress--pertaining to the Central Executive Committee report as well as to the discussion--was that they were always linked with the substance of the political-ideological work our party is committed to. In this, there result five complex issues from the overall message of the party congress, including its declaration of intent, "Our Word and Deed for Peace," that are preeminent in our continuing clarification process:

--A persuasive and penetrating presentation of the values and advantages of socialism. We have quite a few members who think this is such an "obvious and ordinary right of existence" that they sometimes lose sight of the historic superiority of socialism over capitalism that actually connects with it and of the aggressive and antihuman nature of capitalism. In wishing to use the advantages and impulses of our order consciously, we must be conscious of them. That way alone can we constructively participate in perfecting our order.

--The substance of the GDR's economic strategy for the 1980's as indispensable prerequisite for carrying on the policy of the main task, the proven unity between economic and social policy. The essential changes in our reproduction conditions, caused by internal and external factors, make qualitatively new demands on activities at work and in society. We must promote a penetrating process of re-considering many economic matters all the way to what to do about them in practice.

--Still more extensive qualifications for our members for exercising, reinforcing and defending the people's revolutionary power. The power question remains crucial. That implies still closer links between our ideological work and the solving of concrete state tasks, as we can best apply ourselves to it, and a much greater utilization of the broad field of our political activity within the framework of the National Front. Despite all the advances we have made--particularly also in getting set for the 13th party congress--we are far from having reached our limits. What with all the problems that come with it--the switches first have to be set properly through ideological work.

--Familiarity with all aspects of the socialist peace policy and getting ready for the intensifying conflict with imperialist and opportunistic ideology. Fully comprehending the dialectical connection between the continuing revolutionary world process and the struggle for peace, detente and disarmament, always making the necessary distinctions in view of the enormously increasing gravity in the issue that decides everything, that of war or peace, without at the same time negating opposite ideological positions--therein lies an extremely demanding ideological task. That always comes combined with unmasking the role of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

--Further boosting history propaganda. The 13th party congress documents themselves are a model for approaching the issues of our time from the correct historical standpoint. Progressive traditions from nonproletarian forces offer important clues typically used by our party for forming and reinforcing the socialist national consciousness. Much more than in the past we intend to convey knowledge about our party history as a component of the national history of the GDR. Our party history attests to the success with which the Marxist-Leninist alliance policy of the working class party evolved under our concrete conditions and to the further prospects in store for the LDPD.

There is no compelling rank or sequence to these five complex issues for our political-ideological work after the 13th party congress. They are entwined in many ways. Unmistakable is that an extensive political-ideological offensive is needed for the far-reaching resolution of the 13th party congress to continue the party initiative, "Alliance Contribution to Economic Growth," by annual personal contributions from all members throughout the entire current Five-Year Plan. This

calls not only for economic expertise but also for firm political standpoints and moral attitudes resulting from basic socialist convictions.

Party functionaries are wont to ask themselves after a political event: What is now most important? With regard to the emphases placed by the 13th party congress on further political-ideological work, the answer would be: Familiarizing oneself and all party members intensively with the 13th party congress documents! The "political-intellectual internalization of the party resolutions," as Dr Gerlach put it in the Central Executive Committee report, is what is wanted, so they can be pondered in their complexity and, with consideration given to local conditions, be made to take hold fast and consistently.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS' SUBSIDIARY ROLE REASSERTED AT 12TH CONGRESS

West German Commentary

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 21 May 82) pp 572, 574-575

['Commentaries and Topical Discussions' feature article by Dr Peter Joachim Lapp, editor, East-West Editorial Office, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne: "The National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD)--A GDR Party Without Any Future?--Notes on the 12th NDPD Congress in Leipzig." Translations of the conclusion of NDPD Chairman Prof Heinrich Homann's keynote address cited below and of an East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND report on the congress' concluding session follow this commentary]

[Text] Always around 20 April, Adolf Hitler's birthday, the NDPD convenes at its congresses: the 12th congress was held at Messehalle 7 in Leipzig from 22 to 24 April. The timing is likely to be a coincidence, even though the NDPD still has many former nazis in leadership positions.

Today, the party, in which there are now 91,000 "members of the working strata organized that are allied with the working class" (85,000 at the 11th party congress in 1977), seeks to repress the "quondam" problematics and obliterate the original chief task of the NDPD of reconciling the simple former NSDAP members and the members of the Wehrmacht to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. The NDPD calls itself a party on close friendly terms with the leading SED that wishes to help shape the socialist society in the GDR. Its point of departure is the "party's agreement with the overall social tasks and goals as formulated by the 10th SED Congress."¹ For that reason, the NDPD, like the other Block parties, forgoes a party program of its own. Substituted for it was a party statute which mainly settles problems in party organization. With Joachim Herrmann, SED politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in attendance, the 12th party congress started with a keynote address by party chairman Prof Dr Heinrich Homann which lasted several hours. Through the further course of the congress, 66 "discussion contributions" were submitted.

For 2 1/2 days, 1,000 delegates and 250 guest delegates had to exercise their patience; most speeches had little substance. Still, they did indicate the focal points in NDPD activities and the party's social composition. Officially, among the 1,000 delegates were:²

- 251 members of crafts production cooperatives, independent craftsmen, retailers, innkeepers and other tradesmen;
- 318 intellectuals from the fields of the economic sciences, the political and social sciences, technology, medicine, pedagogy and art;
- 94 employees in industry, agriculture, commerce, transportation and other economic areas;
- 18 members of the free professions;
- 14 members of LPG's and GPG's;
- 289 delegates employed full-time in state organs or the NDPD party apparatus;
- 3 students; and
- 12 pensioners.

Workers, thus, are no longer at hand at all in the NDPD. Peripherally it was revealed at the party congress that Block parties now admit no workers. Nor are members of the armed organs (with a few exceptions) admitted to the Block parties any longer. There is an "understanding" in the "democratic block of parties and mass organizations" to the effect that all military cadre (primarily the officers) can have none but SED membership. It also was learned that the SED decides on the spot, as it sees fit, on membership admission to the four GDR Block parties.

For the NDPD, the following procedure is in effect: If a citizen indicates he wants to become a member, the NDPD has to get in touch with the industrial or local SED organizations. Normally that is done informally, usually by telephone. The NDPD kreis executive committee then gets in touch with SED kreis headquarters, inquiring from it whether the candidate may be admitted. If the SED expresses reservations or is interested in the candidate itself, the NDPD has to forgo this potential member. In that case the candidate is asked either to join the SED or, if the NDPD already has a good local membership, to make membership application to a different Block party.

So the SED not only controls the Block parties politically and organizationally on the state level through the Central Committee department for "friendly parties," it also handles membership admission on a local basis.

Being so much dependent on the leading SED, the Block parties have trouble, of course, providing evidence for their purported independence. At party congresses, of course, that is precisely what they are trying to do. Doing so, the NDPD has long respected two key propositions: (1) The NDPD recognizes the SED's constantly growing leadership role under all prevailing conditions and (2) the friendship of the GDR and NDPD with the Soviet Union is proposed to be permanent.

The alleged independence, at a closer look, comes down to an accurately delineated participation in the fulfilment of the national economic plans. NDPD members and friends have to commit themselves to doing what they can to make improvements in the service and repair sectors, in production, science, teaching and administration. The party executive seeks to motivate, mobilize, and tap the last reserves,³ all that in service to plan fulfilment. At times, the 12th NDPD Congress felt more like an occupational planning conference than a political party congress. It should not be passed over in silence at this point, however, that there also are NDPD members who are not satisfied with this SED-directed confinement to none but help in the economic field and who want to make more of the leeway available to them,

who, in other words, seek to make the best of the situation and use the "NDPD Block party niche" (here, it seems to me, the statement by G. Gaus of the GDR as a society of niches fully applies).

Granted all skepticism about the Block parties in general and the NDPD in particular, which now has less than ever any real target group, the existence of such marginal parties alongside the leading SED is a "value as such." These are respite and survival zones for now approximately 300,000 citizens who refuse to join the SED with its 2.2 million membership (or cannot join it because of the strata they belong to) and need not become "communists." And something else is comforting as well: For most "national democrats" I met on the periphery of the 12th NDPD Congress, the national question has not been settled.

FOOTNOTES

1. Twelfth NDPD Congress, PRESSEINFORMATION, April 1982, p 1.
2. Twelfth NDPD Congress, BULLETIN 3 (second day, Friday, 23 April 1982), pp 173 f.
3. Twelfth NDPD Congress, BULLETIN 1 (Prof Dr H. Homann's keynote address), pp 56 ff.

NDPD Chairman's Keynote Address

East Berlin DER NATIONALE DEMOKRAT in German No 5/6, May-Jun 82 (signed to press 27 Apr 82) supplement pp 33-39

[Conclusion (section IV) of keynote address presented by Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, chairman, Executive Committee, National Democratic Party of Germany, at 12th NDPD Congress, held at Messehalle 7, Leipzig, 22-24 April 1982: "Our National Democratic Party of Germany--Responsible Comrade-in-Arms in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society in Our Country and in the Struggle for Peace: IV. The Party's Political-Ideological Work With the Total Membership--Core of Leadership Activity"]

[Text] Dear Friends!

Our NDPD is a GDR party that is on close friendly terms with the SED. Founded as a petty bourgeois-democratic party during the antifascist-democratic transformation in our country, it has become a social force in the GDR's socialist revolution. It is a political organization for 91,000 members of the working strata allied with the workers class for the purpose of doing everything possible for the all-round strengthening of their socialist state in alliance with and under the leadership of the workers class.

The goal and direction of our party's ideological work are determined by the higher requirements resulting from the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR along the course of the 10th SED Congress. Great tasks are facing it toward further prospects for the alliance and alliance policy. The growing political-moral unity of the people, the consolidation of the comradely cooperation among the parties and mass organization under working class party leadership, and

a high effectiveness of political organization in the socialist society demand of our NDPD a total use of all its possibilities, an investment of all its capacities, and high-level political-ideological work.

The core of our political-ideological work is and remains fostering and fortifying our members' socialist national consciousness which combines socialist patriotism with internationalism.

Socialist national consciousness is our party member's basic conviction that wholly conforms with our era and its demands for fulfilling in a conscious and exemplary manner, on the job and in public life, his civic duties to the all-round strengthening of the workers and farmers power and its secure military protection.

Socialist national consciousness expresses our close friendly ties with the leading workers class and its party and our identification with its policy.

Socialist national consciousness expresses itself in promoting the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community and in our dedication to its coordinated policy and international positions.

Through socialist national consciousness we thus find our party's two key propositions preserved and relevantly applied.

The key propositions are connected with our tried and tested course in recruiting and qualifying members of the strata that are allied with the workers class, citizens of diverse origins and trades, and with distinct experiences in life and consciousness development, to side with social progress, conscious politically organized work for the shaping of socialism, and the struggle for peace.

Our name and goals always have been linked with pledges and actions on behalf of social progress, by which we opted for carrying on the revolutionary transformation in our country and ruled out a return to bourgeois conditions. By understanding what is "national" and what is "democratic" in their inherent interconnections, and both within historic developmental processes, we sorted out in the understanding of our members and affiliates the national from the nationalistic and the democratic from the liberalistic-pluralistic, placing all that within the context of social class struggle.

To be national and democratic to us always meant being antifascist and anti-imperialist. That has been so, that is so, and that is what shows us the implementation of goals, with the establishing of the workers and farmers power in the GDR and the workers class and its allies constituting themselves thereby as a socialist nation, which deeply conforms with the quiddity of our party.

Oriented to the working class image of history, our party has been able, from the outset, to answer the question about the course and goal for working people from nonproletarian strata and provide them with a new view on history and historicity and, hence, with a correct view on their own place past and present.

In dealing with the history of our party, we also deal with the history of our republic; and as the GDR has already its own history, a history which has already become a tradition, our party, having helped write this history, stands within it as part of this tradition. When we look at our road that led to the GDR and at our place in it, yesterday and today, and trace it once again for the older people among us (showing how it started, what became of it, and which distinctions our party earned in it), we also provide for the younger ones, who today give shape to our intentions and goals through still greater responsibility, important lessons and insights. So let us stir the pride in what our party has done and is doing. That helps form party-oriented thinking and action. And thus we shall try to illuminate for those who have grown into socialism what has from the start been independent in our work. That is important for understanding our responsibility, for our responsibility per se. With all this, our party itself stands within a good tradition. Its understanding of history has always been sound and it keeps developing continually. It need not be redefined today. We have always seen historical events and developments as historical conflicts between classes, have recognized what has been historically progressive in our multilayered and mixed heritage, and found established in it that tradition that has continued to our present days--all the way to the GDR.

Already the document of our eighth party congress 20 years ago spelled out our understanding of our heritage and its application as follows: "Our GDR is the legacy in statehood from the best sons and daughters of our people. In it lives the spirit of Thomas Muentzer's peasant armies and of Ulrich von Hutten's 'I braved it!' In it lives the worldwide humanism of Luther and Melanchthon, Erasmus, Leibniz and Herder, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Humboldt. In it lives the revolutionary world of sounds by Handel, Bach and Mozart and Beethoven's 'O ye millions, I embrace ye!' In it lives the spirit of Stein, Arndt and Fichte, of Clausewitz, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, Bluecher and Schill, York, Jahn and Friesen. In it lives the spirit that made for the 1848 revolution, the spirit of Heine, Herwegh, Freiligrath, Weerth and Buechner and the spirit of the fighters of the 1848/49 revolution."

"Above all," we said even then, "our GDR is the legacy of the best sons and daughters of that class which is its leading force, the German workers class. It is the legacy of the two greatest sons of the German people, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the creative progenitors of Marxism."

Through the victorious revolution in the GDR--led by the SED--the workers class and its allies came to inherit and consummate the progressive traditions from all of German history.

Throughout all phases of its social development, our party has contributed its own to making usable the progressive, chiefly the revolutionary-democratic, traditions to the development of our members' socialist national consciousness. That includes the contributions in which we drew lessons from the early bourgeois revolution of the German Peasants' War of 1525. Much regard was gained by our party's effort to explore the traditions of the struggle by the Prussian reformers and of the German-Russian comradeship-in-arms in the wars of liberation against alien Napoleonic rule. We gained essential insights from the historic assessment of the 1848 revolution. It especially is important to our alliance, its theory and its practical efficacy in that there, after all, petty bourgeois democrats for the first time joined ranks with communists in the struggle against reaction.

As allies of the workers class, we disclosed to ourselves from that perception of history the correct view for any patriots and democrats who, in line with the law of progress and obeying, and acting in accordance with, their conscience took their place by the side of the workers class in the struggle against imperialism, militarism and war, who eventually opposed fascism and put up resistance against it, helped found the Free German National Committee while World War II was still going on, joined its movement, and in its ranks fought for a democratic German republic. Through the victory of the workers class in the struggle for political power and the founding of the GDR, the road was paved for that burst of strength that spilled from all the great and good traditions of the German people to revitalize our country.

Rapport with history is as characteristic of our party as are its own traditions set by its two key propositions. They unalterably belong to our party's political life in our country. Therein lie the roots of our understanding history and our age. That is determined by the requirements for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and for the international class conflict in our days.

This is how the party member asserts himself: self-assured politically, loyal to our party, convinced of its importance to the alliance, of its role in the social development process, and of its tasks in the struggles of our time, and as a close ally of the workers class and its party.

Political-ideological work is and remains the core of any management activity. Higher demands are being made on its level, theoretical depth, power of conviction and reaction capability. Our party friends expect substantial party events. They are becoming increasingly interested in the kind of party life that gives them strength and incentives for coping with their daily tasks at work and for fashioning their way of life as it is possible in socialism, beneficial for their whole personality development and of use to society.

What socialism means to us, what its values and advantages and its capacity of democracy and freedom mean to us, and the reasons why we so resolutely help shape and defend it--all that is a focal point of our party's ideological work. The conviction of socialism's historic superiority over capitalism implies a clear image of imperialism.

Our ideological work must be turned truly into an offensive because the increasing international conflict between socialism and imperialism has led to an escalation of ideological warfare. We must successfully oppose imperialism's ideological warfare, directed from staff echelons with the most up-to-date technical means, and demagogical and insidious as it is. Our members not only want to be acquainted with socialism's strategy and tactics in the class struggle, they also want to know of their place in it and of the personal opportunities they have to engage actively in this struggle and add their own.

Siding with socialism, close ties with our party, optimism about our cause, and the certitude in reaching our goals--all that marks our members' awareness and stance, that are to be molded further, and determines our agitprop requirements. In our party's ideological work, a higher place value is given to economic policy

propaganda. That also holds true for our party press, which must help our party friends gain deeper insights into the scientific nature of our economic policy. The way it is being planned, its ability to predict and cope with new problems, its flexibility throughout all its consistency--that not only explains why our economic dynamics can be sustained at this time but it also convinces our party friends of the need for a growing economic performance and substantiates their militant optimism.

Especially thereby our ideological work also grapples with essentials, i.e., our relationship with the growing leadership role of the workers class and its leadership capability, and it accounts for what we have in common with the SED, for our involvement in the further strengthening and in the exercise of the power of socialism.

Through all that and through many other things our party is doing for cultural policy, history and defense propaganda, we are shaping socialist national consciousness. That is the main trend of our ideological work and determines its substance. What matters is to move those issues into the center the clarification of which serves strengthen our members' partiality and mobilizes and motivates them toward high achievements for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. That also includes developing the style of our ideological work which is marked equally by instruction, information, argumentation and organization. It amounts to ideological work with a still larger range and power of conviction, to maximum public efficacy, to the kind of ideological work that conforms to our proven political principles and our place in the developed socialist society.

Our members are entitled to expect that much of our party. And that makes it our duty, which is increasingly being met by our executive committees. And we have accomplished quite a lot, too. So we are grateful to our 20,000 party friends who prior to our party congress were elected for the executive committees of the basic units, the city-districts, kreis and bezirk committees, and to all voluntary party associates, and especially to the group leaders for our circles and teams of ten. Our full-time associates deserve recognition. Selflessly and firm in principle, they have worked toward reliably fulfilling the tasks assigned to them. Their open-mindedness, dedication and close bonds with all members have done a lot for the good political atmosphere in our party. They created much better conditions for a qualitatively and organizationally secured executive and secretarial activity. We are glad to see so many new party friends that grew up in the party in functions of and on assignment from the party and, consequently, among our delegates.

Our personnel policy has improved. It is and remains a key problem in the management activity of all executive committees and secretariats. Solving this problem still better calls for still greater attention to the selection, training and promotion of party members with a more long-range, systematic and prescient personnel policy work, in line with social policy requirements. That also is one of the essential preconditions for our meeting our alliance contribution.

That way alone can we make sure that the resolutions our 12th party congress is about to take are met everywhere in the party most effectively. Especially the personnel policy requirements for the basic units is what we must keep our eye on. After all, from those basic units we get the cadre the party needs more than ever for fulfilling its tasks on all levels and in all fields of its activity.

Further developing our party's social activity calls for elevating the political-ideological level in our party work incessantly. It comes down to the question of the ability of those who direct and perform that work. In the constant training for party associates, personnel policy and propaganda tasks merge. They want to be coped with in our party.

Party-relevant cadre training mainly also means deepening the knowledge about the content of our central party resolutions. So management activity becomes more expert when it is resolutely oriented to the central party resolutions and through their application the members are motivated and mobilized toward still broader and socially more useful activities. The public demands here raised and our party's further potential in capacity are corroborated especially by the results and experiences in our work these last 5 years.

Our party is strong--politically-ideologically as well as politically-organizationally. Our members' bonds with the party and among one another have become more diversified and effective.

The work with each member and the focus maintained on the whole membership and the effort to involve them in regular political-ideological party work through the variety of forms of our party life, and mainly through the membership meetings and study circles, have advanced our party a goodly stretch.

Boosting party ranks has increased the number of those who want to be our fellow-combatants through political party organization. Year after year there are more citizens who want to get into our party, 2,000 in the first months of this year alone, half of them craftsmen and tradesmen. It remains a management task of significant social weight and interest to use the greater attraction our party has to actually make the great number of those join our ranks who feel attracted to our party for its performance and public reputation.

One-fifth of our membership joined in the last 5 years, i.e., since the 11th party congress. They have found their place and have assumed functions in our party and in public life, proving themselves as our party directs. Our party must gain still more strength to meet its task with still better results.

There are 2,600 basic units in our party--450 more than at the time of our 11th party congress. That makes the management of party work by voluntary organs easier to check and makes ideological work with each and every member more intensive. Above all we have better adapted the territorial structure of our basic units to the state structure, the election districts and residential areas of the National Front. That is of benefit to our party's public efforts. Nearly 80 percent of our membership is now organized in urban basic units. Here we also have chosen the right way for spreading our party's efforts in urban residential areas.

That in no way diminished the importance of our party activity in rural basic units. They, after all, do not only include cooperative farmers but also many craftsmen and tradesmen, members of the various areas of the intelligentsia, including also artists and creators of culture. Great are the social demands made on the numerically mostly small rural basic organizations. Few party members must cope with a lot of things there. And they do so gladly, dedicated to the common cause of the National Front of our GDR.

Taking part in the National Front's political mass activity is to us not one task among many tasks but the basic purpose of our party activity. Its purpose is mainly political-ideological and leads to shaping public life in the residential areas. The citizens' initiative, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities-Join-in!" is to us also an important means for it, its basis being the targets issued for the Five-Year Plan period by the National Council of the National Front of the GDR.

Political mass activity in the true sense of the word has to be organized and performed. Reserves wait to be tapped at an unprecedented range. It surely is an impressive piece of evidence for management work already performed that way by many executive committees that, in conformity with the tasks of local economic plans, and in coordination with the competent National Front commissions, community assignments of our basic units have in many places become standard procedure in the "Join-in!" competition, so that they are in fact already being taken for granted in the annual work programs.

To our party, whose birth and growth are deeply tied up with the idea and concern of the National Front, the further development and increased public effectiveness of the socialist people's movement in the GDR are a firm component of political-ideological work, a concrete testing ground for our party units. Be it on the commissions, the working teams of craftsmen and tradesmen, or Christian circles in the National Front, and even in housing community leaderships--our counsel is wanted everywhere, our deeds are needed, and our participation finds public recognition.

Through the strength of our arguments and this dedication by our members, we help make the political work of the National Front commissions still more substantial and successful in terms of the National Council resolutions. Confident political talks with as many citizens of our country as possible wherever we find them--in their apartments, houses, streets, urban residential areas and communities--are irreplaceable for any profound and action-related understanding of domestic and foreign policy problems and tasks. So we shall help in conducting more such talks.

Summarizing all that which in the period ahead proves politically correct and socially important for the management of party work by our executive committees and secretariats and all that continues to be necessary so as to make the quality of ideological work conform with our high social requirements, we may say:

First: Any further performance improvement of party work must start with new efforts by our management organizations on behalf of our members' personality development so as to further mold socialist national consciousness in order that every politically organized citizen in our republic will do all he can to strengthen the GDR. Our party needs each member, and each member needs his party, the NDPD.

For that, there shall continue to prevail in every party unit an atmosphere of party friendship, a climate of trust and dedication based on the conformity among our goals and tasks. Each party member has all opportunities to exercise his rights and fulfil his duties, yet he himself should see to it that the preconditions for that become more favorable all the time.

Second: We shall fully meet our concerns, tasks and goals only if we include more than ever our entire membership in our political work. All members want to be tied in with the life of our party in such a way that they can comprehend and experience how indispensable our party's own alliance contribution is to the commonweal.

The work of our party units and the dedication of all members require everywhere that perceptible social effect that conforms to the mighty pace of socialist development in our republic. That is a critical and incorruptible quality criterion for all ideological work and its management.

Prudently planned and practiced, set down in terms of priorities and seeking a complex effect, our management activity will always capture each member and exercise an influence of partiality on his personality development. Bringing all members into the political struggle amounts to the central effort of all party organization for bolstering our party's fighting strength.

Third: Further improving the quality and effectiveness of political-ideological work is imperative for involving all members in our party life. The central party resolutions are critical for reaching the necessary level of ideological work and are the basis for all management activity.

Prudently and uniformly applying the central party resolutions while keeping territorial conditions in mind is a basic problem for further improving our party work that all executive committees and secretariats must address with still richer ideas while it also grants its most certain assurance. That will make it possible for us to produce the necessary new performance growth and create conditions that supply new impulses, not only to those who need comradely assistance, but also to those who are more advanced. Handing on good examples, creating new models, turning best achievements into norms for all, and applying effective tools to surmount still existing unjustified disparities in outputs--those are the basic management activity demands.

Fourth: Through the work of the basic units, the party resolutions on membership gain their broadest public effectiveness. The basic units are the party's foundation. Through them, many members experience our alliance and our alliance policy which they themselves produce and practice thousandfold. Strengthening our party's impact thus means to us today more than ever strengthening the basic units. That must be addressed right there and in all next-higher executive committees by management activity. The heart of the party beats in the basic units. There the concrete decisions are made about the effect and range of our political-ideological work through the use and encouragement of the public and vocational dedication and experiences of our members. The basic unit illuminates the political worth of our party friends' deeds and accomplishments and puts their example into effect.

All that and many other particulars show us that the role of the basic units in the life of our party work and the improved quality and scope of our political-ideological efforts keep gaining importance. To make party life attractive and stimulating, mobilizing and motivating for every member, we must mainly pay enough attention to the preparation and the conducting of membership meetings. They have been, are and remain the main form of party life, the supreme executive organ for the basic unit binding on all members.

Fifth: Our challenge is to raise our agitprop onto a level that, in quality and effectiveness, conforms to the criteria objectively given by the challenges of the 1980's. Unshakeable partiality to socialism must inform it as much as a great relevance, realism, and the conviction that our tasks can be solved with its commensurate optimism. Tenacity and consistency are no less important there than is aggressive, informed argumentation. We must critically look at backlogs and deficiencies and remain productively open-minded toward new requirements. Clarity in basics and knowing what things are encourage conscious action on behalf of our republic and of socialism--and that is what counts!

Sixth: Increasing our party's public strength of radiation is the responsibility of our press. Structuring it that way, as a tool of party management, sets criteria for the substance and methods in the work of our journalists as party associates. Much has been accomplished since the 11th party congress in boosting our effectiveness. The columns of our NATIONAL-ZEITUNG, the five regional papers and the journal of our associates attest to that. Through our newspapers and the documents for up-to-date oral agitprop enrich the membership meetings, the study circles and personal political discussions.

We must still more impressively reveal the facts of our life and the positive balance-sheet due to the alliance policy promoted by the workers and farmers state and thus, the prospects in that policy. The history of real socialism provides us with cogent and persuasive arguments for the correctness of our course and for the certitude in our victory.

That is a sound basis for the ideological struggle in the class conflict with imperialism, the struggle for men's hearts and minds. Our agitprop has to be a sharp weapon for our good cause.

That makes a high qualitative demand on the political-ideological work by our executive committees and on all party associates.

Seventh: Strengthening our party ranks raises the number of those who, politically organized and consciously, take part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. They strengthen the alliance and enhance its effectiveness. Recruiting new party members thus becomes a criterion for our ability to meet increasing public requirements.

Truly great is the historic weight of the work ahead of us. This is, after all, a matter of meeting requirements and exercising responsibilities as never before in the history of our party.

We know our tasks are big and tough. Through our 12th party congress we have to focus fully on solving them. We know our goal, we know our way and we are rallying our forces. Filled with optimism, we advance.

The sources of our conviction that the tasks can be solved and that we are winning our struggle lie in the scientific principles of GDR policy. They are due to the SED's leadership and the creative and purposeful application of the universal inevitabilities of socialism, by which the people's trust in the strength of socialism is fortified and all public forces are given free rein for independent action. They spring from the people's creativeness and the effectiveness of our alliance, from what we do too in our party to make the inevitabilities of our age prevail, from what we do in further shaping the developed socialist society. They are provided by the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the cohesion of the socialist community of states.

Our party has always exerted great efforts in recruiting members in strata allied with the workers class, citizens of diverse origins and vocations, and with their own experience in life and consciousness development, to side with social progress and with conscious, politically organized activity in shaping socialism in the struggle for peace.

Our party acts in conformity with historical and social inevitabilities. So it more and more provides its members with the correct view on that the ideals and goals of the workers class include its allies' fundamental interests, and that the historic mission and power of the workers class guarantee their implementation.

That has been our experience throughout the socialist revolution and in our contribution to enforcing its universal inevitabilities. This and only this explains our pledge; this way and in no other way shall we make our contribution in advocating extensively, without reservation, the socialist revolution in the GDR, led by the workers class and its party.

In a few months it will be 30 years since we pledged ourselves to the construction of socialism in the GDR according to plan. What a historic path that has been!

Indeed, our NDPD itself serves as a historic example for the effectiveness of the ideas of peace, democracy and socialism. Our party's pledge to socialism has deepened and matured. And that is linked with our comprehending the vitality of scientific socialism.

We know this: Only socialist society can solve the problems of our age, the issues of human survival.

An ancient dream of mankind is to be fulfilled. We fight for peace and socialism.

That is the pledge of our 12th party congress to the GDR and its leading force, the SED.

We redeem this pledge by what we do for the socialist revolution in our country. The NDPD serves the GDR, its all-round strengthening and reliable protection and its exercising its historic responsibility in the struggle for peace and socialism.

Long live our socialist fatherland!

SED Organ's Report

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 82 pp 1-2

['ND' report from Leipzig: "NDPD Strengthens by Deed the Tested Alliance--12th NDPD Congress Concludes With Election of Executive Bodies--Prof Heinrich Homann Re-elected Chairman"]

[Text] The newly elected Central Executive Committee at the 12th NDPD Congress in its concluding session on Saturday in Leipzig reelected Prof Dr Heinrich Homann party chairman, its presidium, which also includes the honorary NDPD chairman Dr Lothar Bolz, and the secretariat. With great enthusiasm the delegates received the congratulations sent them by teletype from Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee.

In his concluding address, Prof Dr Homann underscored that the party congress resolutions constituted a requirement for shaping and fulfilling the NDPD's own contribution to implementing the policy for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace. Social forces in the GDR place high expectations on NDPD units and members. "We shall always be worthy of the trust and friendship of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party," he asserted in this context. "Nothing and no one will deter us from it. Resolutely and cohesively our party members stand behind it." It was important to guard and reinforce the alliance as a great achievement of our social development. "Proven, and confirmed by our experiences in decades of joint struggle, is the leadership role of the working class party in our country; no one will ever succeed in driving a wedge between us." The party chairman reaffirmed the NDPD's unconditional pledge to our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

In a unanimous resolution, the party congress announced: "The NDPD will continue to contribute what it can to the prosperity of our socialist GDR and its all-round strengthening on behalf of socialism, peace and anti-imperialist solidarity." NDPD members, the statement continues, want to be active coshapers and responsible fellow-combatants in shaping the developed socialist society and in the struggle for peace, under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, in close friendship with it and through good harmony with all forces in the Democratic Block and the National Front. The NDPD, the statement continues, is fully behind the peace concept of the 10th SED Congress and the historic mission and important contribution by the GDR to the implementation of the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The NDPD intends to concentrate its ideological efforts on behalf of the all-round strengthening of the GDR on achieving the needed economic performance improvements. It referred to the Five-Year Plan and the national economic plans as campaign programs tested by our alliance policy.

The national democrats of the GDR entirely and without reservation endorse the military policy of the SED and the socialist GDR, and they assert: "We have been and will remain coshapers and codefenders of the socialist revolution in our country." The statement defined the attitude toward the power question as the crucial criterion for all NDPD members' ties with socialism, saying: "The promotion and shaping of a socialist national consciousness is and remains the main substance in our party's political-ideological efforts."

In another unanimously adopted solidarity declaration, the delegates documented their unalterable and continuous solidarity with all fighters against imperialism and war, exploitation and suppression.

Discussions on the last day of the congress had concentrated on alliance policy responsibility for repairs, service and direct supply deliveries, which is so important to the implementation of the main task. People's Chamber deputy Heidelies Lange, of PGH Metall Guestrow, had already remarked that everyone would have to think about how to improve the efficiency of his own work. Every good idea should be picked up, examined and, if possible, put into action. Inge Struebing, who owns a refrigeration repairshop in Meissen, talked about effective measures in constantly improving public services. Some 90 percent of all such work was being done right in the customers' apartments, and lectures in the DFD counseling center offered instruction on care and maintenance. Juergen Franke, PGH chairman of the Bad Blankenburg motor vehicle tool plant, pointed out how necessary it was to keep places open for the convenience of the customers.

Upholsterer Claus Stengel of Ilmenau showed by many examples how through socialist cooperation between the purchasing and the delivery cooperative public repairs can be improved and the work of the crafts enterprises be rationalized. Anneliese Kubelka, chairperson of a tailorshop PGH in Muehlhausen, made the point that further increasing labor productivity for the benefit of higher supply services demanded of everyone a standpoint of partiality and new ideas about further improving the cost/benefit ratio.

As the last of a total of 66 discussion speakers, Ambassador Ferdinand Thun, permanent GDR delegate to UNESCO, spoke about the GDR's active contribution to the safeguarding of peace. This is what he said: "The more securely, stably and dynamically the development of our republic proceeds, the more solid and unequivocal the GDR's position alongside the Soviet Union is, and the more perceptibly the political and economic strength, the ideological cohesiveness and the military strength of our state are manifested, the more weight, authority and impact attach to the arguments and proposals we advocate in international negotiations and disputes."

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CSO: 2300/330

NAVY COLLEGE COMMANDANT DEFINES TRAINING OBJECTIVES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1982 (signed to press 15 Mar 82)
pp 116-118

['MT Introduces' feature article: "Karl Liebknecht Officer College of the People's Navy"; Prof Dr W. Nordin, vice admiral, commandant]

[Text] In extending the accounts of teaching institutions in the National People's Army which MILITAERTECHNIK has been coming out with periodically since 1976, we are happy to avail ourselves of the opportunity to present information through an article series about the officer college of the People's Navy as well. This, we hope, will accommodate many young readers interested in the profession of a naval officer and eager to learn more about our military college.

At the Karl Liebknecht Officer College, the top training institution of the People's Navy, the future officers are being prepared in every way for their responsible and, at the same time, beautiful and interesting activity as superior officers, educators and commanders of combat collectives on ships and boats or in units and facilities of the People's Navy. Such service calls for officer personalities who have firm basic socialist convictions and a high class and state consciousness, are boundlessly dedicated to the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party and to the state and army leadership, have great political and technical military knowledge and skill and possess extensive specialized knowledge and facilities in their particular fields of assignment. They must be highly qualified for educating and training their subordinates politically and militarily, excel in solid nautical conduct, strength of will and organizational talent and be in the position to fulfill combat tasks at sea under any conditions and under great physical and psychological stress. Their traits would naturally mainly also include their love for the sea.

The 10th SED Congress formulated the class mission of the National People's Army and the GDR's protective and security organs by saying that they "have to protect the socialist order and the peaceful life of the citizens in the GDR and all states of the socialist community against any assaults from the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, and ensure the sovereignty of the GDR, its territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders and its state security. Shoulder to shoulder with their comrades-in-arms, they must always be ready and able to fulfill this mission."¹

The class mission so formulated gains special importance under prevailing conditions when influential imperialist circles keep increasing the gravity of the military-political situation and the risk of war. At the 10th SED Congress, the minister for national defense pointed out that the responsibility of the socialist armed forces in the struggle for the survival of mankind never was as great as today and that everything was up to the cadre.² In that context, the secretary general of our party, Comrade Erich Honecker, called for "greater demands on the selection of the cadre, their class consciousness, their abilities, their knowledge and skill, and their training and advanced training."³

Very high demands arise from this requirement for the activity of the teaching institutions for the GDR armed organs. There was every good reason, therefore, to assert at the 12th delegates conference of the SED organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops: "The military teaching institutions increasingly stand up as genuine places for communist education and centers for ideological-theoretical and military-scientific work."⁴ The 12th delegates conference thought it critical for the education and training of future officers how well graduates were being prepared for leadership, tough army and naval service, and combat.⁵

This makes clear how much responsibility has been assigned to the officer colleges as forges for the cadre in the various arms and services. One can also easily acknowledge thereby the great demands resulting for the substantive and organizational-methodological structure to be given to the educational and training process. After all, the cadre we train today will be tested in their naval service, for all their knowledge, skills and abilities, not only now and tomorrow but long-range as well, beyond the year 2000.

1. A 30-Year Forge for Naval Cadre

A proven principle of our party's prescient military policy lies in perfecting the training system for the cadre in conformity with current and long-range requirements. That is being confirmed by the meanwhile 30 years of successful naval officers training at our teaching institution, one of the oldest in the GDR's armed organs. An account of the officer college of the People's Navy would thus certainly be incomplete, if we failed to mention some essential highlights in its development.

Considering Lenin's remark that the power issue is the decisive issue in any revolution, our party leadership placed coping with that on the agenda once the GDR was founded. When armed police formations were set up to protect our sea boundaries, the first sea police formations also evolved in 1950. To train the officers needed, a sea police officers school was founded in January 1952 in the ancient Hanse city of Stralsund, which is looking forward to its 750th anniversary in 1984. With great clan then communists, antifascists and members of the socialist youth association created the prerequisites, in personnel and material, for training politically reliable and technically skilled officers. As long as armed police formations sufficed for the protection of the socialist accomplishments, the sea police officers school fulfilled its tasks in every respect.

But in the mid-1950's the military-political situation as one knows, changed fundamentally, which urgently required setting up regular armed forces in the GDR. Once the NVA was set up, the requirements for its cadre also increased. Therefore,

by order of the minister for national defense, of 1 July 1956, the sea police officers school was combined with the technical engineering college that had been founded in 1952/53 and restructured into the naval officers school of the GDR armed forces.

Now, the cadre to be trained no longer merely had to be able to operate the ships and boats built in the GDR but also the modern combat equipment received from the Soviet Union and reach as fast as possible the training level of the fraternal socialist fleets in the navies of the Warsaw Pact states' coalition. In 1956 already that required extending the training from 3 to 4 years and, to a large extent, adapting our own training programs to those in the officer colleges of the Soviet Navy. The new demands for more technical and weapons training were, by and large, met by the courses we then had for naval officers, naval engineering officers, communication officers, naval construction engineers and electrical engineers.

Thanks to the continued solicitude from the party and military leadership, the great and selfless assistance from our socialist comrades-in-arms, and the mobilizing strength of leadership by the party organizations, and as the result of the greatest efforts by the teaching staff, the officer candidates and all personnel at the naval officers school, we reached a high level in education and training within a relatively brief period. So we were granted the status of a professional military school as early as in 1958.

Another crucial phase of development was also initiated in our school by the NVA's educational conference in 1968. With the international class struggle intensifying and the revolution in military affairs advancing, higher demands arose for our graduates, from which were derived the necessary prerequisites for converting to college training. After the personnel and material conditions were established, mainly through the needed qualifications for the teaching staff and the preparation of new training programs, our school was granted the status of an officer college on 4 January 1971. Since then our students have graduated in the rank of lieutenant and as certified college engineers.

The rapid development of science and technology and their impact on military affairs require, as already stated, that the training system for our cadre must constantly be perfected. For that reason the necessary measures were taken early in the game to develop the training system further, step by step, with respect to the tasks the NVA will have to solve in the 1980's and later.

That calls for a clear picture of the changes taking place in these years in the technical field and the tactics principles for the assignment of combat equipment resulting from them. At this point, we may merely mention the development of the smaller and medium-size surface vessels of the naval forces.

2. Modern Combat Equipment Calls for Universally Educated Socialist Soldiers' Personalities

Our People's Navy is of course also being systematically modernized on the basis of coordinated plans by the Warsaw Pact states. The secretary general of our party affirmed at the 10th party congress that we were always seeing to it that our armed forces are equipped with modern weapons and new combat equipment and command techniques.⁶ That is why in the technical military equipment for the combat ships and

boats of the People's Navy, weapons systems and technical installations also will predominate which are in line with the modern status of Soviet military equipment and with our own developments in military technology.

In this context, the command and teaching staffs at our officer college are aware that coping with the demands resulting from the development briefly alluded to here crucially depends on the officers we are training and educating today at our institution. From this we derive our political responsibility for fully bringing subjectively to bear an improved training for young officers on the objectively given greater possibilities for better fighting strength and combat readiness.

Evidently, a graduate of the 1980's and 1990's, to fulfil his tasks, must absolutely have the qualification level of a graduate engineer. For that reason all officer colleges will start on 1 September 1983 training officers who will graduate with such diplomas. The necessary arrangements for that are already being made.

Naval officer and naval mechanic are the two categories in which we train our officers. When naval officer graduates start their naval service, they will be assigned the command of a combat sector on a combat vessel or on a small torpedo speedboat. Naval mechanics start as engineers on watch in a machine combat sector and then have a variety of chances for advancement.

The training programs are structured accordingly. Social science, general training, mathematics and natural sciences and basic technical training are by and large identical for both categories.

Social science training, which is a decisive basis for communist education, embraces such subjects as Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economics, scientific communism, indoctrination, military pedagogics and psychology, and the history of the workers movement.

General training includes subjects such as seamanship, medical training, military physical training, naval security service and others.

Mathematics, natural science and basic technical training include, to mention but a few subjects, higher mathematics, electronics, electrical engineering, ADP and industrial measuring, control and regulating technology.

The special training in the naval officer's category includes, among other things, navigation, navigational installations, naval tactics, and the deployment and use of various types of weapons. In the naval mechanic's category, it includes the major machine installations and electrical installations on board and the organization of the naval machinery operation.

Both categories also provide training in two foreign languages.

More detail on that will be given in subsequent articles which will deal with the departments at the officer college in particular.

Practice training aboard a combat vessel or the training vessel of the People's Navy marks high points. Every year we call at ports of fraternal navies, always

an unforgettable event for our trainees. Since 1976, the officer college has been using for its practical training the "Wilhelm Pieck" training vessel of the People's Navy, which now leads to longer sea voyages and trips to remote ocean areas. We have gone to the North Sea and the Baltic and called on the ports of Gdynia, Riga and Leningrad, but also to the Atlantic and the European Arctic all the way to Murmansk and the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, calling on ports like Sevastopol, Varna, Constanta and Split. Our trainees have then always creditably represented our GDR in those international waters and friendly ports and made an important contribution in reinforcing our comradeship-in-arms with those friendly navies.

But the officer college of the People's Navy itself provides all prerequisites for theoretically demanding and yet practically relevant training.

The teaching staff is composed of experienced and highly qualified officers and civilian science associates who assist the trainees with words and deeds during and outside of the courses. More than 80 percent of the teaching staff has the first or second academic degree, and some are engaged in correspondence courses, in postgraduate studies or in assistantships. The teaching and command staffs acquired their knowledge at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy, Soviet military academies, or civilian academic institutions in the GDR. Most of them exercised responsible functions on ships and boats or on staffs of formations of the People's Navy before they started teaching.

With more than 70 showcases, laboratories and workshops, the officer college of the People's Navy now has a modern training base that facilitates practice-related training. It also has a planetarium, a computer center, navigation trainers and radar simulators, engine cabins, a naval security simulator, various training complexes for weapons and equipment, modern gymnasiums and arenas, firing ranges and other installations. The "Wilhelm Pieck" training vessel is also, so to speak, part of our training base.

Rich initiatives for constantly expanding and modernizing our training base come from the teaching staff, the trainees and the cadre. Instructors have designed some new showcases. In close cooperation with the trainees or through voluntary mass initiative they worked out the concept on innovator deals.

3. Sensible Leisure Time and Meeting Comrades-in-Arms Are Part of It

There are many opportunities at the officer college and in the city of Stralsund for sensible leisure time activities.

Through science circles for officer candidates the trainees have the opportunity to take part in scientific life directly.

Choirs, choral groups and variety shows, but also photographic and hobby circles are well developed forms for independent cultural activity. When the Workers Festivals were held in Rostock Bezirk in 1980, the choir of a company of trainees that took part in many events, e.g., was celebrated as an "excellent popular art collective of the GDR."

Splendid provisions for leisure-time sports have been made through the sections for sailing, shooting, diving, handball, volleyball, soccer, judo and chess. The trainees are proud that a champion at the Olympic Games in Montreal, Uwe Potteck, emerged from their ranks, he being a trainee at that time.

The 30 years of successful development in our institution have been linked from the outset with the inestimable support received from our Soviet comrades-in-arms. Without it, it would not have been possible in this relatively brief period to cope with modern Soviet military equipment and prepare our new generations of officers for joining forces with the allied Baltic fleets.

An important event in this connection was our institution's "Comradeship-in-Arms Week," held for the first time in 1964, between the anniversary of the glorious Soviet Army on 23 February and the NVA anniversary on 1 March. To this day, it has become a cordial annual meeting and experience exchange between representatives of the Karl Liebknecht Officer College of the People's Navy, the M. V. Frunze Naval Officer College of the USSR, and the "Heroes of the Westerplatte" Officer College of the Polish Navy.

We also maintain close ties with the officer colleges "S. M. Kirov," "V. I. Lenin," "P. S. Nakhimov," and the Military-Political Naval College of the USSR.

On 1 March 1964, at the end of the first week of the Comradeship-in-Arms, a tradition that has meanwhile been taken over by the whole NVA, our institution was awarded the name Karl Liebknecht, which places a great obligation on it. Our trainees express their pride in this in various ways. They feel they are "Liebknecht students," and already during the first year of training, on the day when Karl Liebknecht was assassinated, they take on the vow always to act in his spirit and always to do honor to his name.

Our teaching staff has done and is doing everything to train highly qualified socialist officers personalities, whereby to contribute to enhancing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the People's Navy. By means of analyzing the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and of the 12th delegates conference of the SED organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops, and in preparation for the NVA's academic conference, we intend to turn our military training institution more and more into a genuine place for communist education and a center for ideological-theoretical and military science efforts.⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, pp 126 f.
2. H. Hoffmann, "Soldiers of the People--Steadfast Fighters," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, (A edition), 13 April 1981.
3. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 127.
4. H. Kessler, "Tenth Party Congress Campaign Position! For High Combat Readiness! Everything for the Good of the People!" PARTEIARBEITER, special March issue 1981, p 46.

5. Ibid., p 48.
6. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 127.
7. W. Ehm, "On Some Basic Features in the Development of Fighting Strength and Combat Readiness in the People's Navy," SCHRIFTENREIHE DER OFFIZIERSHOCHSCHULE DER VOLKSMARINE, No 25, 1981.
8. H. Kessler, op. cit., p 46.

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CSO: 2300/323

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REGIME STRATEGY TO CO-OPT UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Zürich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 1 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 29 June: "The Christian Peace Movement in the GDR--Hugging Strategy of the SED"]

[Text] Berlin, 29 Jun--As in previous years, the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR has again this year called for "10 Days of Peace" for Christian young people for the fall of 1982. As the Erfurt provost Falcke announced at a meeting of young GDR Protestants in Eisenach, it will take as its theme "Swords into Plow shares."

On Two Tracks

The situation of the Christian peace movement in the GDR has changed recently in that the communist state leadership is now trying to neutralize the forces for peace in the Protestant church through a form of double strategy. On the one hand, the Protestant peace group, whose peace patch symbol "Swords into Plowshares" is banned on the grounds that the symbol is being abused by young people "to manifest opinions hostile to the state and to participate in an illegal political movement," is being opposed just as before; on the other hand, the communist state leadership is clearly making efforts to integrate the peace forces in the Protestant church into the state controlled peace campaign for its own purposes.

Politburo member Kurt Hager outlined this tactic of the SED at the last convention of the "Cultural League of the GDR," saying that in the GDR there was "a peace movement with a million members, involving all social strata and philosophical ideas." As a result, "Marxists, Christians and pacifists" were united in the peace movement in the GDR. For the first time there was an official admission, at least indirectly, that there are also pacifists in the GDR, who are opposed to serving with a weapon, on the side of the East or the West. Hager's statements have been interpreted, at least in sections of the Protestant Church, as a signal that the motives of the Christian peace forces in the GDR are being respected.

Against this background there are visible efforts in the leadership of the Protestant Church to avoid everything that could be construed by the State as a demonstration. The former chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, former bishop Schoenherr, stated last Sunday at a peace meeting of Protestant Christians in East Berlin, which was described as a "peace workshop," that Christians in the GDR

who were committed to peace would now have to move on from the mere demonstration of their feelings, as expressed in the "Swords into Plowshares" symbol, to argumentation. From now on it was a matter of making clear to the politicians that support for peace by Christians in the GDR was not a danger to the state, but something that could be utilized for peace policies.

The Protestant Church in the GDR is also at pains to avoid the impression that the work of its own peace forces has any oppositional character, directed against the state. The phrase "peace movement" is therefore ruled out as a term for the peace work of the Church. Peace work, the explanation runs, is just one dimension of all Christian work. Along the same lines is the strict refusal by the Protestant Church leadership in the GDR to regard its own forces as part of a great peace movement embracing West and East.

The situation of the peace forces in the Protestant Church of the GDR, whose freedom of action is limited anyway, has been complicated by the double strategy of the communist state leadership. The sharp dividing lines between the Christian peace movement, with its "Swords into Plowshares" symbol, and the state peace campaign, which confronts this symbol with the slogan "Peace must be defended, Peace must be armed," are in danger of being wiped out in the face of the communist double strategy.

9581

CSO; 2300/315

FAZ WARSAW CORRESPONDENT NOTES UPCOMING PAPAL VISIT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Jul 82 p 10

[Article by Jorg Bremer]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jun--For the people on the street everything is already clear: the Holy Father is coming to Poland in August. But the more qualified and knowledgeable the person one is talking to, the sooner one sees brows furrowed in doubt. Pressure is being exerted on the Polish government from many sides. The Poles and the Vatican are waiting for a decisive word from this side, but apparently others are as well.

Recent newspaper reports from the Soviet Union have created unease. Even the official Soviet news agency TASS had a comment on the Pope's visit. In these reports usually only the communique of the official Polish news agency PAP is quoted. On 13 June, it had reported from government circles that a trip to Poland by the Pope was being made contingent upon peace in the country. A visit would also have to be thoroughly prepared in conjunction with the government. Soviet reports focus their attention each time on the state of social calm, but commentaries are also being given, in which the Pope is described as a kind of Western agent, even if not in connection with the events in Poland.

Words like this are not repeated in Polish newspapers and on the radio. So the Kremlin's criticism of a papal visit is not known in Poland. This refusal is not really comprehensible, for the Poles had gained the impression that Moscow had accepted the fact that the Church in Poland occupies a position that cannot be wrested from it by the party and the government.

The state of war in Poland seems to have altered something in this situation. Government voices in Warsaw made it abundantly clear that the unpopular "Solidarity" trade union was a child of the Pope, who would certainly reawaken it if he came to Poland. Orthodox party members, grouped around the club of the periodical RZECZYWISTOSC and who often appear in the columns of the army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, have, since the beginning of the year, constantly made the connection between underground activity and "certain conspiratorial activities" in the churches. Priests were abusing their office when they maintained contact between interned and free trade union representatives. Just 14 days ago, the question was raised in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI whether it was coincidence that demonstrations always originated in the churches. It is true that the criticism was directed only at "certain priests" and the Episcopate was never attacked, nor was the Primate.

Certain tensions, however, seem to have arisen between State and Church in recent weeks at the Catholic University of Lublin, where two social science disciplines are threatened with closure. The government was certainly angry that Glemp invited the Pope and even named a definite date without having first consulted with the authorities. The government, however, suppressed its anger. The population knows very little of these forms of government.

The position of the Church is considered to be undisputed. The faithful trust in its course. They are encouraged in this mainly by their local priests, who make more open public statements than the high Church officials. "We are crossing the Red Sea in the struggle for a free and just Poland," one priest preached to the faithful in the industrial Warsaw suburb of Ursus on the day before the anniversary of the riots in Posen in 1956. As was the case at many masses, prayers were offered for those interned, for the persecuted, for those who had gone into hiding and for those who are protecting them from arrest, which is a punishable offense.

The public is counting solidly on the Pope, and even a few newspapers and magazines are voicing this expectation. The censors had not crossed it out. Public debate is reduced to a single point: If society remains silent and does not rebel against social and political injustices, then in return it expects freedom in church life, unimpeded by state action.

The centenary celebration of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, who has been honored for 600 years in the Klosterburg, cannot be postponed; the greatest holiday in this anniversary year is on 26 August. It would be unthinkable for the Church and the population if the Polish Pope were not to be present on a day like this. Opinion says that the government cannot refuse John Paul II; and the Church cannot be guided by such short-term and secular matters as a state of war, which has, in any case, never been acknowledged. At the same time, the Polish Episcopate, at its last conference of bishops last weekend, once again announced its willingness to work for social understanding.

After Primate Glemp had appeared before the faithful on Corpus Christi with the announcement that the Pope would be cordially welcomed in Poland on 26 August, after the Episcopate had earlier constantly and openly criticized the state of war and had come out in favor of a resumption of the dialog and the release of the internees, the pressure on the government has relaxed noticeably since last weekend. In the final communique from the recent conference of bishops there is no mention of demands on the government, "Solidarity" is not mentioned and no date is set for the papal visit. The conference only confirms that the Supreme Pontiff will come to Poland from the Vatican for the anniversary celebration of Czestochowa. But the celebrations extend over the entire year. In a mass in Stolp at the weekend, the Primate only confirmed that the Pope would come in the near future.

After a 16-day visit to Poland, after a lengthy meeting with Minister for Foreign Affairs Czyrek, Archbishop Poggi returned to Rome. He also made only tentative statements about the possibilities of a papal visit at his departure. He said that negotiations with the authorities were continuing about the conditions for a visit. The Church is currently refraining from making any statement. It would not like to make a decision more difficult for the government, which has come under not only time pressure but also pressure from the Polish public, by pestering the government and vociferous behavior. The Church knows that a particularly critical point in Polish foreign policy is involved.

The relationship between Poland and the Soviet Union has always been problematic. It had cooled noticeably during the renewal phase in Poland. Groups within the party, who allegedly present Moscow's views with particular passion, are by no means in control in Warsaw, so it cannot be said that Moscow is in agreement with everything that General Jaruzelski has changed in Poland since 13 December--even if the chairman of the military council was solemnly given an expression of Soviet confidence during his visit to Moscow at the beginning of March. That is a long time ago. Those in power in Warsaw are not only dependent on Moscow for their rule. The country is also tied economically to Moscow, more firmly than ever. That lends special importance to the decision about the papal visit. For then a decision will also be taken about whether the military council and the government are more interested in a reconciliation and understanding with Polish society--or in a tie with the Soviet Union.

9581

CSO: 2300/312

YOUTH GROUPS HOLD PLENARY MEETINGS

ZHP Supreme Council Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Magda Rulska: "Independence Does Not Mean Solitude"]

[Text] One of the dominant subjects of the discussions currently taking place are the problems of the young Polish generation. The preparations for the 9th plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee which will be devoted to the affairs of young people exercise a great influence here. The Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] deliberated on Saturday, while the 7th plenary meeting of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] took place in Slupsk on Friday.

The date 26 June 1982 will go down to posterity in the history of the Polish Scout Union. Unusually important problems were discussed that day during in-between conference meetings of ZHP highest council authorities: the essence of instructor activity, the role of scout educators in the process of educating the young generation of Poles. The problem of the limits that must not be exceeded in training was also taken up.

Practically every one taking part in that discussion agreed with the main thesis of the introductory report: there cannot be any talk of true scouting without a good instructor cadre that really educates and assists in the self-education process.

What however, needs to be done so that the scout movement is identified with good educators? What should be done so that the instructor can continue to be a scout, that is, a personal model for his charges?

That is a paradox--it is more difficult to remain a troop leader in our union than a council commander--said Włodzimierz Kuziłowicz. All too often we forget that the training of a cadre is not just the acquisition of knowledge but likewise the acquisition of know-how. Formerly, good instructors developed gradually at the side of a master. That model is not possible now. There are too few "masters," while there is an abundance of bad, showy troops. That is why courses are also necessary but they must be

preceded by a period of practice. Education is not a matter of shaping an alumnus but the creation of development conditions. This verity pertains in equal measure to instructors as well as to children. This is why I am an advocate of a "development spiral"--that permits of various solutions.

We have the impression said Wojciech Wroblewski that we concentrate on detail all too frequently. We discuss what degree or prop, but we do not really know who the instructor really is. We must ask ourselves the question--what is the role of the instructor in the union and in society today. Martial law induced a lack of awareness in the cadre as to what we can do and how, and what is and is not permitted. Thus, it is necessary to clearly define the limits which may not be exceeded, while not forgetting that our obligation is to demonstrate educational justifications both inside as well as outside the ZHP.

A similar view was expressed by Jaroslaw Gorniak:--Various detailed matters can be resolved in councils, and should be based on traditions and the knowledge of individual groups. On the other hand, it is important for us to take action against the intellectual laziness of instructors. Not only the children, we too have our own method of acting and reacting, and we also must improve ourselves.

The problem of--what about the countryside?--came up once more during the discussion. Rural scouting has been struggling for years because of the lack of the right kind of instructors. Guardianship over scouts in the countryside is exercised chiefly by instructors dressed in organizational uniforms. They want to, and they must be appreciated for that--it was said. However, that is only scouting make-believe, a substitute. Should rural children be deprived of it?

This is how Barbara Panas approached this problem: The gap in our union chain is a real one and I do not know how to bridge it. At one time I promoted a scout activist function. At the time they asked what will you and Ornat be? But perhaps it is better to come back to that idea in order not to continue accepting further fiction?

In consequence of its initial deliberations, the Supreme Council adopted new rules and regulations on instructor grades, it formulated assignments with respect to the development of instructor circles, and established principles for granting the honorary title of "Instructor--ZHP senior." A ZHP stipend fund was established.

Before I give an account of the last three hours of Saturday's meeting, I will recall several facts.

In implementing the Conference's decision, on 18 June 1981 the Supreme Council confirmed rules and regulations pertaining to two programmatic-methodical movements along with--Resolution number 8--the A. Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructors [KIHAN] Principles of Agreement. Since that time, there has not been any meeting of the Supreme Council during which the "Malkowski problem" did not come back like a boomerang. The reason for

such reappearances was the decision of the KIHAM Agreement Council [RP] of 13 September and 18 October [1981?] which recommended a different Scout Oath than that adopted by the ZHP Congress. Is the proposal of so important an act in the life of every scout a kind of an indoctrinational experiment? That is something that is being pondered in the union to this date. Is it permissible to violate a rule using an accomplished facts method?

The majority were in agreement with respect to one thing--undoubtedly the next ZHP Congress will have to resolve the problem of the oath, and undoubtedly, however, a broad unionwide discussion on this subject is needed right now. But a Congress resolution and rule is obligatory for all. Inasmuch as the Union is to teach citizenship attitudes it cannot agree to violating law and order in its own ranks. That is, unless the change in the oath, or the use of several oaths simultaneously is to be recognized as a methodical experiment.

Despite the fact that there are many educators among Council members, it turned out that not one of them is able to convince the others what is an educational experiment and what is not.

Other problems have also imposed themselves on the oath problem. Toward the end of 1981 the country was in an uproar. Scout instructor attitudes were not the only ones that were polarizing. During its deliberations in Bydgoszcz, the Supreme Council Presidium was considering a proposal for acceptance of Resolution Nr 18: "The situation in scouting is a reflection of processes taking place in the entire Polish society (...) Discrepancies within the framework of the ZHP cannot but be noticed, but the problems resulting from them must be resolved in a manner appropriate to the organization, democratically, while preserving the nature of the organization defined in the ZHP statute (...) The ZHP Supreme Council is aware that other scout oaths are being used in practice (...) We treat violations as a matter of the conscience of individual instructors. The Supreme Council expresses the conviction that this resolution serves to maintain the unity of the Union, and it will not be condemned at the next congress, and that the problem of the scout oath will definitely be resolved at such congress."

The 13th of December interrupted the work of the ZHP Supreme Council. We could read the following in the resolution adopted that day: We appeal to all instructors who are faithful to the Oath, the Scout Code, and our principles in which the good of the People's Republic is the highest law, to demonstrate full citizenship responsibility..."

This wording repeatedly prejudices the problem. Instructors who do not observe the law place themselves outside the Union--said commander-in-chief Andrzej Ornat on 20 March of this year. He also then expressed the hope (the Supreme Council also adopted the same view) that the KIHAM Agreement Council will understand the situation and will refrain from recommending activities that are contrary to the ZHP statute. In the current circumstances--it was recognized during the March deliberations--such activity must be treated as an attempt to push youth into illegal action.

The answer was a KIHAM Agreement Council announcement on 8 May 1982 upholding its previous position.

On Saturday the Presidium of ZHP's Supreme Council recommended a resolution to the Supreme Council on the dissolution of the A. Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructors, and the suspension of Resolution Nr 8 of 19 June 1981 until further notice.

The Supreme Council's Commission on Scout Instructor Circles and Programmatic-Methodological Movements expressed itself against this proposal. The arguments: lack of proof that KIHAM Agreement Council activity was driving this movement into a position of ideological and political opposition, the efforts to "come to an understanding" between ZHP Headquarters and the KIHAM Agreement Council were inadequate, that it has not been established to this date whether the proposal of new scout oath forms does not also belong within the framework of a training experiment, and that the radical position of the Supreme Council might eventually be harmful. The arguments of the Supreme Council's Presidium were: reviews conducted in 27 KIHAM centers several days earlier showed that many instructors are not familiar with the decisions of the Agreement Council, not everyone familiar with them supports them. It is not true that the new oath is being demanded by organizational "bottoms," that the use of several oaths is antieducational, the KIHAM Agreement Council was driving the movement into a position of ideological and political opposition in ZHP, and not a programmatic-methodological movement, and that at the same time it threatened the unity of ZHP.

Voting for adoption of the resolution were 96 ZHP Supreme Council members. There were 17 against, while 11 members abstained from voting. Five Council members announced that they would have to seek advice in their own circles on the advisability of further participation in the efforts of ZHP's Supreme Council.

It must be emphasized that the ZHP Supreme Council continues to confirm the need for the existence of programmatic-systematic movements within the framework of the union. As heretofore, there is room in ZHP for all KIHAM circles that observe the rules and regulations of the ZHP. The Supreme Council confirms that when appropriate circumstances arise, ZHP authorities will create the possibility for holding a meeting of Circle proxies and conducting elections for a new KIHAM Agreement Council.

ZMW National Board Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Lissowski]

[Text] In opening the plenum's deliberations, National Board [ZK] Chairman Waldemar Swirgon stated: This is our first working meeting in this group in over 6 months. During the past half-year many changes have taken place in the country's sociopolitical and economic life which obligates us to confirm our loyalty to the union's ideological-programmatic principles.

Taking part in the meeting were: the chief of the PZPR Central Committee Social and Vocational Department Stanislaw Gabrielski, and Kazimierz Glapka, chief of the ZSL Supreme Committee Education and Science Department.

National Board Secretary Mirosław Pivowarski delivered a program report on behalf of the presidium that was followed by a prolonged discussion.

The discussion touched on almost all of the current problems and complaints of the countryside and agriculture. Most of the statements were of a critical and not infrequently controversial nature that at the same time were characterized by a deep concern to ease rural youth's life start and career.

During the discussion it was stated, among others, that 80 to 90 percent of the unutilized reserves are located in the food economy and outside of agriculture, in industry, in small crafts and in craft services. However, these do not assure a complete supply of basic resources for agricultural production, quickly. At any moment it is necessary to reach for the simplest reserves that do not require either costly investment outlays, or special organizational effort.

It was also said that it is necessary to react energetically to the neglected agricultural schooling of the young farmer group and of agricultural training schools. It is likewise necessary to think about higher level of teaching and sounder treatment of vocational training--which often is limited to--picking up rocks from the fields.

In the course of the discussion, members of the Rural Youth Union's [ZMW] top authorities submitted a dozen or so proposals pertaining, among others to: setting up a Central Settlement Agency in the National Administration [Zarząd Krajowy], establishing priorities for young farmers through reassigning lands and farms taken over by the government, and turning over experimental farms primarily to young farmers.

The ZSL National Board representative demanded that the ZMW not forget about unionized youth and concern itself more resolutely with minor problems that will augment the number of the organization's sympathizers, and in the final analysis will increase its driving force and numbers.

In his presentation, S. Gabrielski pointed out the great importance and special character of the PZPR Central Committee's 9th Plenum. In contrast to earlier ones, it will not be a routine debate about youth but about the responsibility of the entire society for the education of the youngest generation of Poles; about what needs to be done so that the young would feel they are joint owners of the country, so that they will not become the object but the subject of social life and factual partners of adults.

The resolution adopted by the plenum obligates the union leadership to realize the recommendations contained in the report under the title: "LIFE AND CAREER START OF RURAL YOUTH"--before year's end, organizing an economic council in the ZMW dedicated to defining the forms of rural youth's

participation in overcoming the crisis, requesting the chairman of the Council on Food Economy and Minister of Finance for financial support for the newly created ZMW agricultural center for agricultural progress in Klobukowice [Czestochowa Voivodship].

ZMW Plenum Theses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article--author not named]

[Text] Lively discussions continue in the Polish countryside on how to effectively safeguard the defense of farmers' socio-vocational interests. The voice of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] cannot be missing in such a discussion. A guarantee of vocational prospects, living conditions and the start of a career constitutes a problem of fundamental significance for the union.

All of us are feeling the results of the crisis. To get out of it there must be national understanding and self-sacrificing work. The crisis--something that sounds paradoxical--simultaneously constitutes an opportunity for rejuvenating the occupation of farmer, and for checking the rate of the outflow of youth from the countryside in view of the lack of jobs in the city. The responsibility for preparing young people for the new situation falls on the ZMW.

Remaining in the countryside is linked with the creation of working conditions that are essential for a young farmer, and concern over the preparation of cadres for agriculture, and improvement of the countryside's infrastructure.

A characteristic quality of ZMW in the future and today is a program of positivistic work which arises out of the union's actual needs, youth, the environment and young people's work. We want to prepare the young for social life through work, to help with education, and to train young people consistent with their aspirations. The best route for the personal and social promotion of ZMW members lies through learning, knowledge and qualifications. The ZMW must realize this idea with special care.

The responsibility for linking torn social ties rests on the ZMW, hence the union's role in rural and cooperative activity will be an active one. It will also be active in cooperative work with socio-political, and social organizations in the countryside, in creating a climate of neighborly assistance at harvest and dig-up times, concern for children, and solidarity and older people.

The generation exchange in agriculture and the flow of employment to agriculture ought to be directed mainly toward the exploitation and good use of the soil not only in peasant, but also in socialized farming, from State Land Fund [PFZ] and settlement action.

Work posts should be created for rural youth in the countryside, in the commune, and in the cooperative movement. Young people's youth cooperatives established by ZMW encounter a series of bureaucratic obstacles.

It is generally anticipated that the basic problems of the young generation will be touched on at the 9th Plenum of the PZPR's Central Committee. The ZMW awaits a clearcut state social policy, the creation of realistic conditions for stability and life and work prospects. A basic problem for rural and city youth is the resolution of the housing problem, the assurance of social protection for young families, work posts in the city, and the setting up of work shops in agricultural farms.

All of us are working for the country, the countryside and ourselves. Today has become the time for action--for positivistic work. The kind of life we will live and the kind of countryside that we will leave our heirs will depend on such everyday work.

AHP Plenum Theses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article--author not named: "Theses of the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP]"]

[Text] A scout instructor ought to be an adviser and guide to youth in this difficult historical period. There would in general be no Scouts without good instructors.

Instructor morality takes on a special significance today--the agreement of attitudes with proclaimed convictions. A measure of the quality of an instructor's work is the observance of the Scout Code and Oath, which are a compound of the most commendable human values and socialist values.

There is a need for improving the quality of the instructor cadre training. It must be educational training which simultaneously provides knowledge and know-how based on practice.

Instructor grades should be a measure of qualifications. They should not so much reflect job rank as much as the instructor's actual skills. The grades must describe his capacity for executing assignments.

Teaching circles are an important union element. They should be a place for the exchange of experiences, work motivation and self-education.

It is necessary to return to the principle of training the instructor cadre within the framework of the ZHP, that is, the "development" of instructors from mother troops and tribes.

ZHP Israel-Lebanon Resolution

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 82 p 2

[Article - author not named: "ZHP Supreme Council Resolution"]

[Text] As scout instructors who draw their work concept from the principles of humanism, the brotherhood of people and justice, we are deeply shocked by Israel's brutal aggression in Lebanon.

We are seized with indignation by the unpunished violation of the borders of a sovereign state, and fear--because of the attempt to physically destroy the Palestinian people, the murder of women and children without any human scruples, an extermination that we know so well from our own national history.

The cynicism of world, but particularly of American reaction, which is supporting the excesses of the Israeli barbarians, and simultaneously instructing Poles how they should resolve their own problems while black-mailing our country in various ways--arouses our disgust and moral condemnation. Palestinian and Lebanese friends! We are with you in these difficult times.

10433

CSO: 2600/734

STUDENT OPPOSITION GROUP LEAFLET CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 4

[Commentary by W.D.: "'Moral Code'"]

[Text] Among the leaflets which are still appearing here and there, my attention was caught by one signed by the "Academic Resistance Movement" in Wroclaw, entitled "The Students' Moral Code."

What are the "duties" demanded of students by their unknown colleagues? Well, it is the duty of every student to undertake "activity in the resistance movement." At the same time, students are forbidden to participate in the work of organizations which support martial law; this prohibition includes cooperation with the press, radio and television.

But what if someone has convictions which differ from those of the authors of this peculiar "code"? What if someone feels that the "resistance movement" is aimed against the interests of students themselves (for it opposes their own state), that only their personal participation in social life provides a chance to shorten the time remaining before the crisis is overcome? This is where the tolerance and democratic beliefs of the organizers of the "Academic Resistance Movement" come to an end. Students cannot be permitted to hold views different from those of the founders of the "Academic Resistance Movement." And what if someone dared to? He would be "taught a lesson."

So those who do not comply with the "code" should be boycotted, and if students do not want to boycott, then the establishment (by whom, I wonder?) of a "Students' Disciplinary College" would be proclaimed.

What kind of punishments are to be administered by this "college"? At first a warning. If this does not help, then a person's close friends and acquaintances will be informed of the fact that that person has dared to hold his own views. In addition, the authors of the "code" threaten to notify school authorities (?!). If these measures also do not help, "compulsory leaving by the student" is threatened (how, I wonder, perhaps by force?). A not further defined "executive group" is to punish this student.

The authors of this scandalous "code" tolerate only their own oppositionist views, which attests to their...deep democratic beliefs, which are undoubtedly voiced in other leaflets. If they meet someone along their way who, for example, seeks the future of Poland in order and harmony and in the continuation of reform, their tolerance ends, and the pointed struggle begins. For this is the nature of the opposition--it has a mouthful of platitudes about freedom, as long as it concerns itself, and not other people.

ZSMP ADOPTS RESOLUTION ON PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 15 Jul 82 p 5

[Unattributed article: "We Must Save the World From the Nightmare of War"]

[Text] On 13 July, the Main Board Presidium of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] adopted a resolution concerning participation in the worldwide campaign for peace and disarmament.

The resolution reads: The world has entered a new phase of dangerous tensions and arms buildups which threaten to explode into global conflict at any moment. The conservative policy course of President Reagan's American administration is characterized by a clear tendency to settle international problems from a position of strength.

This has encouraged the most reactionary political-military circles in many regions of the world, circles which throughout history have more than once sealed a nightmarish fate of war for millions of people. The most recent example of this is the tragedy of the Palestinian people, which is being played out before the eyes of the world. The government of Israel denies the Palestinians the right to their own homeland and is committing genocide against them.

The need exists to utter a resolute "no" to all of those who bring death and destruction to humanity.

The ZSMP Main Board Presidium feels that, in the name of the interest of the Polish nation, which is threatened by complete annihilation from nuclear war, in the name of fundamental human values and in the name of the ideals of socialism, humanism and democracy, Polish youth must energetically join in the global front of the struggle for peace and disarmament against the forces of militarism and war.

In reply to the resolution of the 11th WFDY Assembly concerning the appeal of the 19th Komsomol Congress to the youth of the entire world to proclaim a worldwide youth campaign against the nuclear menace and for peace and disarmament, we join, in the name of all ZSMP members, the world mass youth movement, which has declared itself in favor of a peaceful life for mankind.

The ZSMP Main Board Presidium values the problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament as a special task for the 1980's for Polish youth assembled in the ZSMP.

We ask other socialist Polish youth unions participating in the Commission for Joint International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions to undertake coordinated activity and initiative in this area.

CSO: 2600/809

MILITARY COMMISSIONERS DISCUSS DUTIES, ACTIVITIES

Zielona Gora, Katowice, Warsaw

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Capt Tadeusz Filipek: "People Are the Greatest Problem. Statements by Military Commissioners-KOK [National Defense Committee] Plenipotentiaries"]

[Text] As a consequence of martial law imposed 13 December 1981, military commissioners-KOK plenipotentiaries were appointed. Their task consists in providing comprehensive assistance to units of authority and state administration on various levels in the course of restoring law and order, ensuring proper operation of institutions and offices and solving urgent societal and economic problems.

Most military commissioners had acquainted themselves with specific field operations earlier, when field and urban operational groups were active. It is not surprising, therefore, that their work soon began to produce positive results in the form of improved living conditions, resolution of many difficult issues, elimination of the most flagrant signs of waste and ineptness, an expanded campaign against profiteering and fraud, and restoration of safety in the streets of villages, settlements and towns.

Today we allow military commissioners-KOK plenipotentiaries access to the pages of our paper to speak about the shortcomings found in numerous inspections and about the difficulties encountered while performing their duties.

Col Wieslaw Soltyszewski, military commissioner plenipotentiary for Zielona Gora:

The character of our region, typically agricultural and lacking major industrial plants, makes us focus our operations on farm problems, currently the preparations for spring field work. A few days ago we completed a comprehensive inspection, code-named "Spring 82" in the enterprises and plants of the socialized and cooperative sector and in some private farms. The inspection covered 40 gminas in the province. Virtually everything was checked: from the stocks of machinery to warehousing to land use efficiency and farm equipment. The results of this inspection will be sent to the district authority in the

next few days. Meantime, we intend to arrange meetings with all those interested in agricultural problems. At those meetings, we will present our conclusions from the inspection and administrative measures likely to be applied.

There are many issues to raise. For instance, there is the "thriftiness" of the management in the gmina cooperative in Trzebiel, where considerable quantities of pesticides piled up in storage for 12 years. No one makes use of them, no one is allowed to transfer them, the pesticides simply sit there and go to waste. Similarly, we had to involve the NIK [Supreme Auditing Board] units in the situation of the State Farm Chobienice machinery stock in the Trzebiechow Gmina, where farm machinery from virtually the whole enterprise had been hauled to the local SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperative] to be hidden from the inspection. It did not work. My officers reported finding a scrap heap of several dozen farm machines. We have many instances of scandalous waste and neglect of property.

In general, however, the status of preparations of the spring season and the course of agrotechnical operations in the province are satisfactory. Were it not for the mentioned examples of indifference in the performance of duty, I would rate the situation in the Zielona Gora Voivodship good. We intend to assist farmers, especially those working under difficult conditions. To this end, we have developed proposals for military participation, primarily that of army technical repair teams, in the preparations for field work and the course of harvesting campaigns.

Major difficulties in my work are, as elsewhere, in handling interpersonal problems. Every day I receive a dozen or so complaints and grievances about plant management and directors: someone was deprived of a bonus, another was fired without close examination of charges against him. We understand that the economic reform does not permit keeping idlers, drunks and pilferers on the job. Often, however, putting a plant in order changes into caring for private interests and personal infighting. We cannot allow that.

Col Czeslaw Piekart, military commissioner-KOK plenipotentiary for Katowice:

Our operation is as varied and multidirectional as the needs of the residents in this large industrial urban center. I would rank recovery of squatter-occupied apartments among the chief topics. We have 900 of those plus another 7,000 apartments for which there are serious doubts whether residency was established in compliance with domicile law or with proper documentation. By last 13 December we managed to evict only about 50 squatter families: currently, we have recovered 160 such apartments in 3 months. Squatter occupants are given substitute accommodations.

We launched a campaign for spring cleaning of the city. Army inspection teams, with city government inspectors, checked every section of the city. We pried into all the nooks. Our conclusions from the inspection were passed on to the ADM [Housing Administration]. A week later we conducted a similar check, this time liberally issuing tickets and reprimands. In a few days, we will visit those sites where superintendents and administrators have been less attentive to their duties.

We are devoting much attention to the new Community Committees for National Rebirth. There are 14 of these in Katowice. We want to initiate direction to useful actions in the communities. We also frequently hold meetings with school-age youth in the belief that they are highly useful for making Polish boys and girls realize what the country expects from them.

We continue a series of meetings with young people employed in local plants, especially where there are no military commissioners. We also try to assist the older plants in which modernization operations are carried out along with regular production. These encounter the greatest difficulties in selling their products. Among them is the Silesia Steelworks, where we recently conducted a comprehensive inspection, substantially contributing to the solution of many essential problems of the work force and the plant.

How do people rate us? Good is my guess; at any rate, they respond to us agreeably and with trust. This is evidenced by the stacks of applications and grievances every day. We strive to help them all but we do not supersede local administration authorities. We operate, above all, in an advisory and stimulative role, only rarely reaching for broader powers, and then exclusively in cases of violations of the law and flagrant injustice or ineptness of officials.

The only complaint that we all have is the lack of time. If our health and energies allowed, we would stay day and night solving human afflictions concerning families and apartments, trade, services and health, upbringing and transportation. I would never have thought that a large city could have so many problems.

Maj Kazimierz Debski, military commissioner-KOK plenipotentiary for downtown Warsaw:

In downtown Warsaw, I am in a much better situation than my colleagues in the other sections of the city because there are no agricultural areas, as on the outskirts, and detached family home settlements are few. There are other problems. The downtown area continues to be regarded by most Warsaw residents, not to mention new arrivals, as the showpiece of the city, the area where one goes shopping and sightseeing. In part, this is correct, because the downtown actually is the city's showplace. This is why we put so much effort for the spring cleaning campaign not to bypass the downtown. We are also trying to improve the organization of supply and the operation of trade and services. Organization is our concern, since supply in the downtown area is no better than elsewhere in the city. If there are more products in the stores, this is to be credited to all those who devoted most of their attention to the improved organization of supply and labor. Our added problem is the large number of national institutions but this issue requires special treatment.

Difficult problems do not exist because, once the essential point is understood, an apparent difficulty ceases to be a problem. Yet there are serious matters that are downright impossible to solve now, among other things, housing construction in the downtown area. Both people and buildings are aging but

there is no place to erect new buildings. At the same time, we receive increasing numbers of applications from those willing to reside and work in the downtown area. There are also numerous complaints about crumbling walls, cracked sewer pipes and overheated apartments. Many of these are indeed justified: in numerous cases instant action should be taken. However, handling capacities of our PGM [emergency residential repair] teams permit work mainly in real emergencies.

As in any self-respecting downtown section of a great city, we also have our slums in which con men, pimps, thieves and profiteers carry on, more or less conflicting with the law. Such areas include the rear of Constitution Square and a section of older buildings on Polna, Sniadeckich and Noakowskiego Streets. In those locations, we conduct frequent inspections, randomly checking renters and their overnight "guests." We attempt, not always successfully, to eliminate profiteering and black marketing and to ensure security for law-abiding residents.

In brief, we have much to do. We know, however, that our actions are necessary to restore equilibrium in the country. That is why we spare no effort and time to do our duty as best we can, which is what the nation expects from us.

Activities in Nowy Sacz

Warsaw GRANICA in Polish No 4, 4 Apr 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Krzysztof Niemiec: "Whom To Promote, Whom To Dismiss?"]

[Text] Commissioners-plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee appeared in the offices of state administration both on the central and local level, in institutions and work establishments, at the moment that martial law was announced. Today, after their 2-month-long activity, it is worth reflecting about the usefulness of their presence for the economy and society's life and to consider what problems they are solving and what phenomena they are combatting.

The range of reactions to martial law can be said to extend from unequivocal support to attempts at organizing protest actions. Without prejudging how many people persisted in either of these extremes and how many with anxiety and hope awaited the developments, one thing should be underscored: in the most difficult moments and days, employees in hundreds of industrial plants found matter-of-fact providers of information and partners in the none other than military commissioners.

The urban operational group active in Nowy Sacz commanded by commissioner Lt Col Tadeusz Markiewicz includes Lt Col Franciszek Rolka, Lt Col Kazimierz Kij, Maj Jan Gasiorowski and Maj Zdzislaw Zolkos, almost all of them from the WOP [border protection corps]. After the imposition of martial law, they all agreed, there was a dramatic drop in the number of issues and calls for intervention submitted to the city office. But the door hardly ever closes in the room where applicants are received by the military operational group. Residents' requests, complaints and comments are taken chiefly on Tuesdays

and Thursdays. Although the group has been active for over 2 months, from 80 to 120 persons show up on those days.

Why do they come to the army group? Undoubtedly, on the one hand this is due to a distinct drop in the prestige of regular offices; on the other hand, it is the constantly increasing confidence in the people in uniform who are trying as best they can in every way to be equal to society's expectation for honest and, most important, rapid solutions to urgent problems. In many cities, military operational groups have become recognized as the only entity capable of solving issues that in many cases have persisted for years. That these hopes were justified is attested to by numerous examples. Up to now, the group has completed or is in the course of completing nearly 1,000 problems of varied caliber. These are in many instances "trifles," formerly impossible to handle, caused by the unwillingness or lack of proper information provided to applicants by regular officials of the state administration.

The army group applies an iron rule: no case is to be put off till later--all must be dealt with immediately. The case of Pawel Wojtarowicz, an 80-year-old retiree in failing health, may serve as an example.

On 10 February, officials received a stirring letter signed by the old man's neighbors. It turned out that early in 1981 in exchange for personal care, Mr Wojtarowicz registered in his small, 15-square-meter efficiency a young woman, Teresa P., who had lived in another town. Teresa P. performed her duties properly for the first month. Then, unexpectedly for the owner of the apartment, she brought in two young children and later, on 15 May 1981, her husband. The old man's protests did not help; soon the couple turned his apartment into a hangout for drunks. Pawal Wojtarowicz was repeatedly locked in the bathroom and tied to a closet. He was threatened with the removal of his refrigerator, couch and rug. His neighbors referred this matter many times to appropriate authorities but the latter never reacted. Slawomir P. jeered at everyone, certain that he could get away with anything.

Faced with evident lawlessness, the operational group made the only correct decision: to evict the P. family from Pawel Wojtarowicz's apartment. Unfortunately, the eviction was not carried out on the first designated date because at the last moment the prosecutor objected to the article of law on the basis of which the eviction notice had been issued. But the military group did not give up. Fundamental principles of social justice demanded that the rights of an 80-year-old man be defended. The eviction was ultimately carried out.

The problems examined by the group kept rising in importance. The group members became familiar enough with the matters of their region to be able to decode many patterns entrenched over the years. They monitored nearly all aspects of the functioning of the town and adjacent rural precincts. They developed guidelines to be implemented under a precise schedule. Now, as I was observing their work, the time came for a strict settling of accounts. Some people had to leave, others were promoted in many plants.

Especially absorbing for urban operational groups are such issues as improving operating efficiency of various administrative levels, services and supply of first-order goods to the population and streamlined organization of work and labor discipline.

Combatting profiteering is, unfortunately, a steady activity for the operational groups. We found its examples in Nowy Sacz as well. Goods worth over 100,000 zlotys were uncovered in a clothes store, among them men's suits reduced from 6,000 zlotys to 500 zlotys. For whom had they been kept hidden? A converse method was applied in another store. Sheepskin coats, officially priced at 4,500 zlotys each (whoever heard of such prices in 1982?) were to be sold for 45,000 zlotys each. There is no need to assure that proper consequences were drawn with respect to the guilty parties.

Despite its new management's efforts, the Provincial Joint Hospital still occasions constant intercessions. The post-inspection recommendations are not being implemented as a member of the urban operational group, a medical doctor, would like them. Although the time is past when the press quoted references like "I will pray to God not to end up in your hospital," there is still much to be done, in the field of interpersonal relations, for one. Situations cannot be permitted in which a superior is hounded only because he is exacting of his subordinates, as for example, the former manager of the hospital shop, Jozef Wilk.

There was a time when the town government ambitiously tried to increase the area of the province capital. This was pursued so eagerly that many fundamental needs of the town went neglected, such as completion of repairs on the rail station continuing for years.

The group devotes much attention to the problems of children and youth. In the rural precinct of Poreba, which belongs to the town, there is a primary school attended by 200 children, erected in part by social volunteer effort. The group had to intervene there on several occasions. There were problems with milk for the children, for example. Milk was delivered only nine times to the school last January, although it was delivered daily to the local store.

Every year, aside from regular waste paper collection drives, school-age youth participated in collection of recyclable waste. Last year the students collected 1,400 kilograms of scrap. The principal appealed for 9 months to the scrap collection unit to have the metal removed, without success. People were laughing about it, saying that the kids had cleaned the households from metal scrap only to mess up their own sports grounds. It took the military operational group to handle the issue. Next year, however, will the children let themselves be persuaded to collect scrap? Perhaps they will, if threatened with the lowering of a grade, though it is interesting in which subject--will it be civic education?

It would be untrue to state that the military representatives' operations are an unbroken string of success, brilliant advances in combatting injustice. That, indeed, is what society expects, but the old habits, difficult to

overcome, keep hovering damningly above those expectations. Contained in them are distaste for any action, the customary "passing the buck" and an unmasked belief that one has to bide one's time till the military go. Fortunately, people thinking in those terms are being pushed to the periphery of living by the realities themselves.

Urban operational groups are attempting to inculcate the new ways. These ways are stricter, with a greater infusion of the sense of duty and less of the routine of sociability. More exactitude, less leniency: this is going on without loud cheering but at a good, steady pace.

Widzew Section of Lodz

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 14, 4 Apr 82

[Interview with Lt Cdr Tadeusz Krzeminski, military commissioner for the Widzew section of Lodz, by Krzysztof Rozycki: "Our Work Is Accepted"]

[Text] [Question] What authority does a military commissioner have and what are his duties?

[Answer] Our main task is to supervise the daily work of the local administration. We do not attempt to substitute for administrative officials in their duties. The district office for Widzew is functioning normally, while we only occasionally, as if by "reflex action," make efforts to correct certain perceived shortcomings, directing the administration's attention to those matters that, in our opinion, seem to need special concern. We intervene directly only when necessary.

[Question] In a situation where life offers so many difficulties and restrictions, the solution of even minor problems causes a lot of trouble and generates conflicts and misunderstandings. In this connection, how is the cooperation between military commissioners and the administration getting along?

[Answer] Wherever they work, people are people and have their vices and virtues. Consequently, there are numerous problems. These problems are being solved, however, by the manager of particular plants and units on their own or, ultimately, by the district chief, whose activities we are trying not to restrain. Actually, there is no need for that because the first secretary of the district party committee, Comrade Miroslaw Czesny, and the district chief, Edward Jablonka, are doing their best to have the best possible situation in the Widzew section.

[Question] Citizen Commander, in your capacity as commissioner you are simultaneously chief of the local operational group. What are its main tasks?

[Answer] The operation group active in the Widzew section is relatively small. It includes six career military officers of various specialties (physician, quartermaster, billeting and construction specialist) and three reserve officers, members of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers.

Our main line of operation centers on the numerous plants in our section. There are 52 plants in Widzew, 10 with their own National Defense Committee plenipotentiaries. We must cover the remaining 42. Add here the self-government bodies in residential neighborhoods, schools, and social and youth organizations. In effect, there is much work.

[Question] Up to now, what has been solved in Widzew thanks to the commissioner and his subordinates?

[Answer] We have handled a good many problems, though we still have much to do. We inspected stocks of machinery (both their condition and utilization) at several plants, most importantly at agricultural plants where equipment had been allowed to go to waste totally. We have handled the problem of supply and operation of (chiefly grocery) trade establishments on work-free Saturdays so that people returning from work on those days would not have to spend too much time shopping. We have streamlined the distribution of bread and milk and we have improved the store supply of meat and processed meats, although this was accomplished more in terms of quantity than quality. We are greatly concerned with improvement in the sanitary conditions of trade establishments and nonproduction rooms for plant work forces. In this area, improvement is particularly notable. We accelerated the completion of several residential buildings, although we encountered numerous problems in this field. For example, several days ago we had 280 applicants for two available apartments.

We also mediate in conflicts between plants; e.g., recently we succeeded in engineering the conclusion of an agreement between a foundry in Podkanow and the Lodz Construction Materials Central Board. Thanks to our mediation, the PSM Widzew Wazst and the Heating Network and Municipal Economy Plants have come to terms, which immediately produced tangible results in the improved heating in the Wilcza Street and Golebia Street area. We were able to speed up the startup of construction on the Widzew-East route and we were given a confirmation that it would be completed on 15 July 1982 (the section extending to Tunelowa Street). We received similar assurances on a nursery in the Widzew-East residential development.

[Question] What has been done in the area of welfare and social care?

[Answer] First of all, we make efforts to aid elderly and handicapped persons, mostly through medical assistance and allotments of heating fuel and food.

[Question] What is the current status of activity of sociopolitical organization in Widzew?

[Answer] This is where we have more problems than elsewhere. It was particularly difficult to energize youth, though now our collaboration with the ZHP (Polish Scout Union) and ZSNP (Union of Socialist Polish Youth) is increasingly good, as evidenced by such ZHP activities as assistance to the elderly or collection of donations for flood victims. Plant party organizations are more and more noticeable. Also, citizens' Committees for National

Salvation have been created--five in housing developments and two in factories--which endeavor to support the measures of the Military Council For National Salvation.

[Question] Currently, are there any matters particularly difficult to handle?

[Answer] Yes, there are quite a few. This is particularly true with regard to housing construction; e.g., the unresolved issue with family homes in Stoki. We have many problems with improper utilization and maintenance of machines in work plants.

Certain problems could be solved only regionally or nationally. Locally, we limit ourselves to apprising appropriate authorities about the need to improve the situation in a particular area.

[Question] With that multitude of issues, do you have time for your private life, Citizen Commander?

[Answer] Indeed, there is precious little time; we average 12 hours per day, plus 24-hour on-call periods (every third day), briefings and meetings.

[Question] Do the activities of military operational groups enjoy the approval of society?

[Answer] Most assuredly they do. The work that we accomplish daily is being accepted. Our society knows that we are people from outside, whose perception of many problems is keener and response more enterprising. Moreover, consider that we have "clean hands," which is not without importance either.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation. I wish you much success.

Poznan Voivodship

Poznan GAZET POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview by W. Rogalewicz with Brig Gen Piotr Przybyszewski, new KOK plenipotentiary for Poznan Voivodship: "We Do Not Want to Substitute for Anyone--We Want to Help"]

[Text] [Question] Brig Gen Piotr Przybyszewski, commandant of the Higher Officer School for Quartermaster Service [WSOSK], became the new KOK plenipotentiary in Poznan. He replaced Brig Gen (pilot) Michal Polech, who returned to his position as deputy commander of the air force.

General Przybyszewski has long ties with the Wielkopolska region. He began to serve in the Polish People's Army in 1946 in various command and quartermaster positions. He has been WSOSK commandant for 5 years.

[Question] As KOK plenipotentiary, what matters do you consider most important in your first day on the job?

[Answer] The guideline for all actions of mine and of the groups that I command is provided by the Ninth PZPR Congress resolutions, determinations made by the Seventh CC Plenum and missions defined in the Sejm message of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In general, we will monitor compliance and enforcement of the law and efficient and equitable settling of human issues by offices and institutions. We will also ensure that the institutions operate legitimately and efficiently and contribute to economic and social stabilization in the province.

[Question] Field operations groups and military commissioners have won admiration and trust.

[Answer] We are pleased by that. Frequently, however, trifling matters are brought for us to deal with. Still, we know that a matter of this kind is important for a particular person who expects help, so we try to refer such persons to the right address and help wherever assistance is needed.

At this juncture, I would like to mention the basic principle of our actions: we do not intend to, and we will not, substitute for anyone. We want to aid the administration or other institutions. Yet we are not there to relieve anyone of his duties and responsibilities.

[Question] General, what do you expect of the Wielkopolska community?

[Answer] I expect cooperation, understanding and joint action for the benefit of the province. We are all creators of material and cultural goods. No one will produce those goods if we do not. I would like every citizen to put in as much of himself as he expects from the authorities. I would also want everyone to stop regarding the ideas of shared responsibility for the country's fate as an empty slogan.

I have become acquainted with the citizens of Poznan Voivodship at their very best. I value their respect for the law and hard work. I believe that we will find a way to communicate.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation.

Bialystok Voivodship, Pruszkow

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Apr 82 pp 1, 4

[Interview by Capt Tadeusz Filipek with Col (academy graduate) Leon Siemionczyk, voivodship military commissioner and KOK plenipotentiary in Bialystok, and with Capt Lechoslaw Zapart, military commissioner and KOK plenipotentiary in Pruszkow]

[Text] The problems are as numerous and diversified as human personalities. It is our duty to take steps contributing to their solution. The nation is expecting action from us--decisive, consistent and in many cases uncompromising action, Lt Col Zdzislaw Radomski, military commissioner in a Warsaw area locality, said in a conversation.

This comment largely reflects the essence of the work of military commissioners-KOK plenipotentiaries. On the one hand, they are facing difficult, in many cases apparently unresolvable, human problems. On the other hand, they are stimulated to attempt their solution by society's trust in the man in army uniform, expressed verbally or often by a friendly display. Other interviewees refer to them today too.

[Answer from Leon Siemionczyk]

I want to offer several observations on my 4 months on the job as military commissioner. I had become acquainted with the Bialystok region and its problems earlier, as chief of the Bialystok WSzW [Provincial Military Staff Headquarters] but I have never been so intimately familiar with them as now. Additionally aiding me in my job as commissioner is the fact that people know me and my team and realize that they can always count on our help or at least on our understanding of their position, especially understanding, since we are unable to solve all problems.

Let me note here that among the public there still recurs distrust toward administration officials representing authority. Improprieties in the functioning of state offices over the years make people continue to regard the faces behind the desks, even the new faces today, with mistrust and hesitation. People prefer to come to our office, even with some trivial matters; e.g., getting a wedding suit. We are visited by 20 to 100 applicants daily. Regulations frequently prevent us from complying with their requests. In such cases, we offer explanations, persuasion and substitute solutions. However, we deal with every issue sensitively, which nearly always works. Though an applicant's request is not fulfilled, the applicant leaves our office satisfied. We have some examples proving that an identical line of reasoning fails if advanced by an administration official. In my opinion, nothing short of in-depth screening of personnel in local administration units identifying persons who are enterprising, management-oriented and sensitive to human issues can help overcome the stalemate and restore society's trust in all bodies of authority.

Another problem is the failure of work forces in plants and enterprises to comprehend the essence of economic reform. I frequently hear the comment that "somehow we will muddle through" and "should anything go wrong, we will get credits from the state." Yet that "somehow" does not develop. Banks will not provide funding for idlers and bear the costs of poor work organization. It is an error, to articulate the points of economic reform in overly scientific language, presenting generally simple matters in difficult, incomprehensible formulations. The lack of express interpretation is the reason why plant managers hardly know any more than their subordinates about the three S's.

Finally, the third issue is undeveloped land, class V and VI, of which we have nearly 3,000 hectares in the voivodship. Private farmers do not want to take that land even when offered free because there are no hands to work it; the Bialystok rural population is aging and rural areas are becoming depopulated. Declarations of assistance to private farmers are of no avail here. Will the command system work, applied to the state farms?

Farming and food sector matters are keeping all interested parties awake at night. There is a lot to accomplish; e.g., to improve the technical condition of farming machinery. Inspections conducted under the Spring 82 campaign evidenced ostensibly 80 percent of all machines in the voivodship as being in the working condition. However, while in the Mitejczyce state farm everything possible was done to have all the machines ready for field work, at Wasilkow barely 40 percent of the equipment was passably prepared for the season. A similar situation prevails in live animal purchasing and grain contracting, with even more varied performance, at 14 percent to 80 percent.

There is still much to be done. At least the managerial teams in state farms and combined farm units were equipped successfully. These days, they no longer sit behind their desks, more often setting out to see with their own eyes the condition of their plants in the field.

[Answer from Capt Lechoslaw Zapart] The housing economy in Pruszkow is a serious problem for us. At least 1,200 recommendations and requests for apartments should be immediately given affirmative consideration; however, housing construction is lagging, as everywhere. In June and July, new apartment buildings will be completed in the Nowa Wies residential settlement but even those will not solve the problem. Furthermore, 72 families are waiting to be moved out of houses slated for demolition, and 76 evictions have been recommended, due to divorce decrees, among other things.

An additional problem is created by squatters; for instance, a family with a young child from Grodzisk illegally occupied an apartment. What would Warsaw's president do if people from Gdansk descended on his city and illegally took possession of houses scheduled for demolition? The authorities in Pruszkow decreed an eviction but the woman keeps coming and crying that her family is in very difficult conditions with the child. For the time being, we let them stay to look for a substitute accommodations, but there are more cases of this kind and we do not always let ourselves be persuaded by difficult conditions.

Many cases involve senile, sick, lonely persons requiring care and assistance. We thoroughly review their petitions and initiate action in social and youth organizations like PCK [Polish Red Cross], ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Association]. Owing to city chief Andrzej Rokita's personal involvement, senior citizen clubs will be established in residential communities of the Pruszkow Housing Cooperative, along the lines of houses of peaceful old age where people can get together, have some tea, watch TV, perhaps have a meal. The first of such clubs is already in operation and is enjoyed by the town's senior citizens.

It is no mean feat to keep the older buildings clean. Still, the spring cleaning campaign covered all the town of Pruszkow perhaps more intensely than in Warsaw. We assigned all Sanepid [Sanitary Epidemiological Control Commission] employees to inspections, and we had the Ochota urban operations group come, aided by militia, ORMO [Workers Detachment of the Citizens' Militia Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia] and fire department personnel. It is premature to report on the results of those inspections because this two-day action

ends tonight. Spot-check reports indicate, however, that there will be some fines and referrals to administrative penalty collegia boards. Once the inspection is terminated, we will discuss the shortcomings together with representatives of the services involved. We will set deadlines for removal of defects and we will conduct another check. I am convinced that by joint action we can put our house in order.

Is our work useful? The facts speak for themselves. We have many applicants, some more, some less cultured persons with some important issues and others not so important. All of them, however, want to talk to the commissioner, occasionally with regular officials but only if the commissioner is present because that will make a response to the applicant's request believable. This confidence in the army uniform is pleasing because it is an expression of the prestige and respect for all of the army, recognition of the army's devotion and selflessness in the service to socialist Poland.

Central Section of Krakow

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15 Apr 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bogumila Pieczonkova with KOK plenipotentiary, Maj Stanislaw Koczvara: "Hundreds of Citizens Sent in Hundreds of Letters"]

[Text] The "institution" of KOK plenipotentiary enjoys appreciation and popularity in Krakow's downtown section. According to Major Koczvara, we must help one another.

Beginning last December, the door to the reception room literally never closes on the days of duty of Maj Stanislaw Koczvara, the KOK plenipotentiary assigned to the downtown section city office, and Maj Bohdan Terpilowski, performing with him these duties, new for army people. Young people, older persons and the elderly all come, frequently as whole families. There are young couples and parents with their children. On certain days, there are more than 60 citizens. Everyone is listened to and no one is told to come the next day. The issues that they are concerned about--also those referred to in letters or by telephone--are carefully filed and passed on to appropriate authorities, bodies, offices or institutions to obtain--during allotted time--a response whether they can be handled or not. If an affirmative decision is made, its prompt implementation is subject to meticulous checks.

[Question] What has helped your so-to-speak two-man "institution" to acquire so much popularity and trust, Major Koczvara? What makes people visit you, write letters, telephone?

[Answer] Our primary task is political activity. We have direct contact, by visiting, with more than 700 workplaces--e.g., design offices--not covered by military plenipotentiaries. We also frequently visit construction sites downtown. The army enjoys some prestige. Our army experience comes in handy. Military service is a real lesson of living and work. Simply speaking, in field exercises or in the barracks one experiences good times and bad times alike. Under such conditions, bonds of heartfelt friendship develop in which

mutual understanding and assistance in difficult human matters, including personal matters, are of great importance. This army experience of mutual understanding and assistance is what we are transplanting where we have been charged with new duties. Since last December hundreds of citizens have visited us on our three, most recently two, duty days per week. We have received hundreds of letters. Overall, this represents more than a thousand human issues, not counting telephone conversations.

[Question] What matters have people addressed to you?

[Answer] During the initial period we operated under the principle of emergency duty hours. Because martial law was imposed, communication was interrupted between many families, no travel or use of mail and telephone was allowed. This was especially felt by separated families residing far apart, in which there were sick and elderly persons, others suffering from sudden adversities, or couples living apart and expecting a child. In such circumstances, anxious and despairing citizens reported to us. We tried to help them learn about their relatives' fate. Using our military communications and aided by the KDMC (City District Committee of the Citizens' Militia) communication systems, we mediated in the acquisition and transmittal of information on citizens' families. During that emergency period we rescued people, especially the elderly, lonely and sick persons who even earlier had to cope with particular hardships in getting their shopping done because of inadequate supply, people who needed medical assistance, nursing and, at all times, a good, friendly word and kindness. As a result of martial law, those people had become increasingly isolated, helpless and threatened in their existence. We attempted in many ways--with the participation of various offices and institutions--to provide assistance, support and a boost to their spirits, reminding them that they were not alone in the world. As certain restrictions of martial law were lifted, the number of problems for immediate handling kept dwindling, which is not to say that we had fewer applicants. Just as in the army one works round the clock when necessary, here too we are unlikely to count the hours that we work.

[Question] Now, with nearly 4 months on the job, do you have any insight in to people's most acute problems.

[Answer] As we have learned, not inadequate supply nor high prices but poor housing conditions are most acutely felt. They involve 70 percent of the cases referred to us. Many of these, nearly 20 percent, are complaints brought mostly by older persons against their families, roommates, occasionally neighbors, for harassment, abuse and ill-treatment. Ten percent of all cases referred to us are related with the shortcomings of municipal management, housing defects, requests for repairs and proper maintenance by janitors. Citizens are given a clearcut answer whether a request can be settled. It is inadmissible for citizens to waste their time and ruin their nerves and health. Above all, a specific answer is due. An affirmative decision in itself does not solve a problem, however, for each case must be disposed of on deadline. Therefore we monitor the implementation of decisions.

[Question] Are there any possibilities for providing relief in the hardest housing cases?

[Answer] We see several ways of alleviating the situation. Owing to the elimination of industrial associations, various offices, institutions and plants could be transferred from the residential buildings that they occupy. Those houses should be restored to residential use. Also, some institutions utilize their offices only several hours or one hour a week. Such institutions should be assigned buildings for joint use. Joint use of office rooms is surely possible once it is agreed who will be using an office when. Such freed buildings would increase the number of available apartments. Tenants have been removed from some houses for repairs where PGM [Housing Economy Enterprise] is unable to start work because of insufficient production capacities. In many cases, this continues for years. These houses are standing unused as well. In all such cases, people living under disheartening housing conditions would gladly contribute their time and money to repair and remodel such buildings in order to get a place of their own. Houses earmarked for demolition for sites for new investment projects could likewise be put to temporary use. Because of a freeze on those projects, their completion deadlines have been moved several years. Those empty buildings could be used transitionally by allowing those persons on cooperative housing waiting lists to reside in them. Work establishments should become involved in repairs and remodeling, effectively aiding in this manner their employees and their families experiencing difficult living conditions. We must aid one another. After the last war many unusually difficult problems were successfully solved by the joint effort of society. Let us revert to that glorious, notable tradition.

[Question] Among other matters, are there also some exceptionally difficult to settle?

[Answer] Yes, those are complaints of defenseless, weary and sick elderly persons about harassment and mistreatment by their closest relatives. Decrees and others will not help. Older persons frequently do not want to press charges against their relatives with the militia and the courts. They fear revenge. The militia and courts require evidence and witnesses, who are usually hard to provide. Few persons willingly become involved in someone else's business, fearing, among other things, some consequences on the part of those against whom they are to testify, for the most part people from the fringe of society. No authority or institution is entitled to interfere in family matters. Our assistance, too, is limited, where we have no possibility to interfere in family matters.

[Question] Recently, you have instituted a novelty in your on-duty hours that has been met with particular acceptance.

[Answer] We were on call along with representatives of party and downtown section authorities, the Section Committee for National Consensus, courts, prosecutor's office and chiefs of section offices. Thus, the citizens--of whom there were more than several dozen--who had come during that on-call

period were able immediately to receive competent, binding responses on their cases plus information on the manner and deadline of their handling. Let me emphasize that our cooperation with the section administrative authorities and various institutions including the medical service and PCK is good.

[Question] In your activity, human issues are focused as if in a lens. Have you drawn some conclusions?

[Answer] Yes, among others is the conclusion about the need to change many outdated regulations, resolutions, even laws. This applies to regulations in housing sector, apartment allotment and others, also in the economic domain. For example, we are noting tremendous wastage on construction sites, with regulations that allow, to put it mildly, for considerable writeoffs for loss of materials. We are in the process of developing a list of such issues, which should be taken up by appropriate authorities for regulation so that the service to man becomes better in our country and so that our societal life and economy are sooner eased.

Olsztyn Voivodship and City

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview by Warrant Officer Z.B. Pazdowski, with Col (academy graduate, Henryk Swiecicki, KOK plenipotentiary for Olsztyn Voivodship and Col (academy graduate, engineer) Jan Turkan, KOK plenipotentiary for Olsztyn: "Many Issues Still Need to Be Settled")]

[Text] For several weeks we have been meeting them outside their local army bases. They are working in the field: in cities, gminas housing developments, institutions and work establishments. They do not count the hours that they have worked handling hundreds of issues, frequently common human afflictions. They are in all those places where a festering problem needs urgent solutions, where evil must be immediately eradicated and indifference combatted.

[Answer from Henryk Swiecicki]

I want to comment in a few sentences on the Spring 82 campaign, concluded several days ago, whose main goal was to collect data on the status of preparations of agriculture for field work. I acquainted the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn with the results of our inspections, conducted by 24 teams. Along with army officers, those participating in the check were representatives of the agricultural sector, agrarian service and scientific workers in the Agricultural-Technical Academy. We checked 147 PGRs, SKRs, POMs and PGRyb (State Fish Farms) plant cultivation stations, RSPS [Agricultural Producer Cooperatives] and 44 gmina cooperatives of Farmers' Self-Help and 95 percent of the farms owned by private farmers.

In general, the preparations for the spring farming season, recently delayed by snow, hail and cold, presented no problems in most of the farms inspected, although there must be some concern over instances of mismanagement, neglect,

plain sloppiness or inept organization. In the gminas that we inspected, 9,612 hectares were uncultivated or poorly developed fields, meadows and pastures. In the Skandawa state farm alone, there are 1,000 hectares of unutilized meadows. Chief reasons for this are scarcity of reclamation and regulation of water levels and a lack of flood protection devices in lakes and rivers.

The availability of seed for spring grains is satisfactory in the Olsztyn Voivodship; there are even some surpluses; e.g., in Bartoszyce and Kolno Gminas. There is a general shortage, however, even in the seed centers, of clover, lupin and bird-foot trefoil. Deliveries of seed are inadequate in alfalfa, sunflower and many vegetables. The mineral fertilizer supply amounts to 64 percent of the year's estimate.

Supplies of plant protection agents, especially basic pesticides, are uneven, amounting to 13 to 50 percent in the gminas of Kwity, Janowiec Koscielny, Janow, Bisztynek and Bartoszyce, while in Reszel, Szczytno, Grunwald, Pasym and Swietajno the figures are 90 to 100 percent. Moreover, it has been determined that basic pesticides are available in certain warehouses--except that they are already expired. We have found 2,865 kg of solid pesticides and 5,524 kg of liquid pesticides that can no longer be used.

Concern is certainly being raised by the current conditions of state contracting from farmers. Only 15.6 percent of grain and 11.3 percent of potatoes have been contracted for in the gminas of Stawiguda, Lidzbark Warminski, Kolno, Ketrzyn, Pasym and Bisztynek. In Jedwabno, Korsze, Kozlowo, Szczytno and Nidzica, the situation is much better.

We also determined a decrease in fish production in the state fish farms, resulting from neglect of fish diseases and improper utilization and maintenance of breeding ponds. Furthermore, improper operation of agrarian service was recorded in 10 gminas, including failure to provide organized protection over decaying farms and young farmers who take over farms.

[Answer from Col (academy graduate engineer) Jan Turkan, KOK plenipotentiary in Olsztyn City] I have been handling my present duties since 23 November 1981, when urban operations groups were appointed, first as commander of one such group (MGO) and since 13 December 1981 as KOK plenipotentiary. Two plenipotentiaries were appointed for Olsztyn, so I frequently collaborate with Lt Col Henryk Blonka, M.Sc. My duties include problems in municipal economy, housing and transportation.

I have been encountering a multitude of problems since beginning. On some days, I receive 60 to 70 citizens with complaints and grievances. Some matters cannot always be solved by the city office. Many complaints were ready for court review, others could be resolved if both adversaries displayed some good will. Most cases concerned housing problems and complaints about poor performance of ADM [Residential Buildings Administration] and frequently underheated apartments.

I wish to underscore good collaboration of KOK plenipotentiaries with the management of the city office in Olaszyn. The authorities properly responded to our recommendations and stipulations. I note with satisfaction the decreases in administration officials' organizational inertia, observable virtually every week. Supervisors are becoming more exacting toward their subordinates; there is more independence in managerial positions; and decision-making and implementation are becoming more energetic. Instances where memos were sent from section to section only one door apart belong to the past.

Offices and institutions have adjusted their business hours to the needs of the citizens. Structurally, offices have been reduced as well, by combining certain sections dealing with related problems. I still see the need to introduce specific changes in the regulations that frequently contradict, allow fairly arbitrary interpretation of directives or permit downright confusion along with unpleasant clashes and conflicts.

We are pleased with successful solutions to many housing problems in the Olaszyn community, including 62 apartment allotment cases, 116 recommendations for housing repairs and many other distressing nuisances.

City of Olaszyn

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Col (academy graduate) Jan Turkan, military commissioner in Olaszyn, by Cpl Ens Krzysztof Wroblewski: "Many Issues Still Need to Be Settled"]

[Question] Citizen Colonel, for some time you have been in intimate daily contact with the city. Have you had enough time and stamina to become familiar with all of its problems? To what extent are those problems specific to Olaszyn and to what extent can they be attributed to other towns as well?

[Answer] My job centers on managing a team in which everyone deals with a specified area in the functioning of the city. This fact mandates us to be familiar with the problems that my coworkers must solve. Still, I cannot be familiar with every issue.

In some towns, military commissioners are operating under what is termed a territorial breakdown by city section or settlement. This solution could have been applied to Olaszyn as well. After prolonged debate we concluded that a division by branch is better. So far, experience has affirmed our concept. Personally, I am in charge of sociopolitical problems, the municipal housing sector and the functioning of urban transit.

Certain anomalies in the administrative structure are visible not only in Olaszyn but in other voivodship towns. I am referring to the city president's powers in relation to enterprises operating within the Olaszyn city area and having in their title the appellation "voivodship." Although their

operational range centers on city territory for the most part, the president's powers with respect to those enterprises are illusory.

What, then, is the city president's role in this unsalutary setting? He is merely a mailbox accepting the residents' complaints and grievances. Residents come to the president with specific issues concerning, for instance, urban transit, unaware that as the city's authority he has no executive power in this regard. This situation must be remedied; for this purpose, voivodship authorities are being alerted.

[Question] What is the situation in housing management? I have heard that you--jointly with the city authorities--have reached explicit conclusions and postulates.

[Answer] The army's and city authorities' efforts are geared toward eliminating Olaszyn's pathological housing situation. There are many examples, reflecting the imperfections of our residential domicile law and human dishonesty. In Olaszyn, 10,000 persons are residing at room-and-board rental places or are renting apartments. They are the target of illegal manipulations by owners possessing several apartments, in some cases.

Apartments are rented, for the most part, by young couples. They pay high prices for opportunities to have apartments, which generally disappear once a baby is born. A resolute demand for vacating the premises follows, often put into effect by force or harassment. We have numerous instances of such activities on Thursdays, when we hear housing problems. It cannot be permitted for a single family to own three detached houses, of which one is registered as the property of a 5-year-old son. To ignore such situations is to debilitate society's cohesiveness and to undermine the existence of those on whom we most count to overcome the socioeconomic crisis--youth. What have we done to find a way out of this difficult situation? We checked more than 13,000 allotted apartments. In 1,100 cases, people residing there did not deserve to be there at all--because they had no allotment or because they had not been authorized to move in.

We have drafted amendments to domicile law, stating that one family--rather than one person--should occupy a single apartment. We also suggest legalizing eviction of single persons occupying apartments larger than two rooms plus kitchen to smaller dwelling units.

It is necessary to eliminate other improprieties. For instance, a person who receives credit for the construction of a single-family home while occupying an allotted apartment should be obligated in the credit agreement to vacate the apartment as soon as the home is completed. Persons becoming owners of cooperative apartments are required to sign such a clause. Why should it not be extended to users of allotted apartments who are building villas for themselves?

In Olaszyn, 4,000 families are waiting for apartments. If our proposals are accepted, apartments will become available for 40 percent of those on the waiting lists. If things are handled routinely, the needs of only a few

dozen will be met. Amendments to the domicile law are a necessity, as said all over Poland, not ourselves and city authorities alone. My objective is to emphasize actual improprieties and to demonstrate the advantages gained from updating the law, as illustrated by the housing situation in Olaszyn.

[Question] Let us consider the recent past. The army was supposed to help make the winter more tolerable. How did Olaszyn survive that winter?

[Answer] There were no major problems. For example, snow removal was better than in previous years although we used only 400 tons of salt. Normally, 2,500 tons of salt is used. This contributed to the protection of natural environment. We achieved such favorable results by dividing Olaszyn streets into segments, which we assigned to individual plants, schools and institutions and imposed on them the obligation to clean.

There were no difficulties, either, in the city's heating system and fuel. This is not to say that the system operated flawlessly--most resident's complaints came in this area.

[Question] What is the commissioner's weekly work schedule?

[Answer] We work 6 days a week. On Mondays and Thursdays we receive residents' complaints and grievances, averaging 60 per day. They are mostly concerned with interpersonal relations in the family and on the job. People come with highly personal issues at times; e.g., a mother pleads for her do-nothing, hard-drinking son to be taken to the army to "be set straight," a wife wants her husband forced to pay child support. There are numerous complaints about the operation of state institutions--trade and medical service.

The remainder of our time is spent on field work--every week we run a specified action. Recently, I have been dealing with farming, though I am city commissioner. A group of Olaszyn residents as well as persons from other towns, Zielona Gora for one, are owners of farms in Olaszyn Voivodship. In many cases, these farms are large; e.g., a Zielona Gora resident is formally in possession of a 60-hectare farm.

The owners of these land holdings work in the city, where they receive their ration cards and compensation. Their land is either leased or lying fallow. Their farm buildings are rented for high rates to tourists from France or FRG. Indisputably, this means that the agricultural potential of these farms is not used to the full. We intend to talk to the formal owners to convince them that every hectare of land should be purposefully utilized for society's benefit.

We are also investigating whether fox-breeding farms are suitably located. Most frequently, they operate without permits in areas attractive to tourists and they generate considerable environmental pollution. An interesting aspect to this issue is the transfer of meat--often through illegal channels--from socialized economy units to those farms.

Moreover, we are active in schools and work establishments. Workers complain about poor working conditions and improper interpersonal relations--there are frequent instances of what is known as getting even because some people conceive of martial law as a return to pre-August 1980 times.

People raise the issue of settling accounts. We assure them that this will be carried on to the end.

A separate item is our party meetings in POP (Basic Party Organization) and PZPR plant committees. Some party units need lengthy explanations of their role and tasks under martial law. They require stimuli to engage in effective party work.

In schools, we are conducting a campaign to make youth realize the essence of martial law and we provide inspiration for the founding of ZSMP circles.

We have been getting positive results in our activity owing to the dedicated effort of a numerous team of officers and soldiers. This smoothly functioning team ensures our control over the problems besetting a large city under martial law. Lt Cols Jozef Stopyra, Konstanty Duniak, Mieczyslaw Janas, Kazimierz Dac, Stanislaw Sypniewski and Leon Sadowski are a staff of exceptionally conscientious people, performing their duty--day and night--in proper, soldierly fashion.

Soldiers in their final, third year of service also distinguished themselves by their attitudes. They are reservists now but a recollection of their actions will remain in our memories and in those of Olsztyn residents. The best among those soldiers were Lance Corporals Ryszard Napora, Damian Kania and Andrzej Schonbach and Cpl Adam Jachimiak.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation.

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CSO: 2600/569

PARATROOPER TRAINING AT KROSNO AERoclub DISCUSSED

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 20 Jun 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Henryk Kucharski: "Through Krosno to the Red Berets"]

[Text] From 1956 the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Aeroclub has given initial instruction to candidates for the Airborne Troops [WPD]. Since 1964 this instruction has taken place in Krosno. In 1981 commando candidates executed more than 50,000 parachute jumps. Behind this figure is concealed much earnest effort by the organizers of the training, especially the parachute instructors, and no little work and emotion on the part of the candidates for service in the Red Berets.

In May we visited the Subcarpathian Aeroclub--Parachute Training Center. A successive team of future WPD soldiers diligently participated in intensive work. The instruction in Krosno lasts from April to October, for 12-day tours. Recruits from the entire nation go there assigned by the Army Recruitment Stations. Volunteers are frequently found among the, mostly, 19-year-old youths. In terms of numbers, graduates of basic technical schools decidedly predominate. There are also high school graduates and an insignificant number of elementary school graduates. In general they are already employed. They have all been given medical examinations fitting for the difficult--but attractive to young, competent, and brave men--service in the WPD.

For a certain period of time we had the occasion to observe their work in the Krosno "commando pre-school," where not only initial parachute instruction, but also the initial elimination, for a demanding military service takes place.

After arriving at Krosno the recruits receive military field uniforms and, obviously, red berets. They are quartered at the local training ground. They sleep in rooms for 10 or so people, in bunk beds--as in the army. The food--good--is served in a cafeteria, also on the spot. The first days of their stay are spent in theoretical and practical instruction, at the so-called parachute training ground, in technical devices. Physical exercises follow the lessons.

Theoretical lessons include lectures on the construction and utilization of parachutes, theory and technology parachute jumping, and the organization of assault landings.

At the parachute training ground they are drilled on such devices as, among others, a tri-level take off (jumps from 1, 1 and 1/2-, and 2 meters), a trapeze with a parachute harness, a parachute ramp (on which the commando candidates practice downhill slides on an extended line which ends with a jump), rhodium rings, and so forth. In the An-2 fuselages on the training ground, they practice entering the cabin of an airplane, taking their places in it, and how to vacate it. Lessons on the ground are completed by learning how to pack and unpack a parachute in the field.

The training, acquisition of new skills, and getting used to the thought of the first jump into the airy abyss last for a week. Every day one can see the future commandos' progress, and the daily growing emotions connected with their first parachute jump. There remains only an introductory flight in a pot-bellied An-2--for the majority it is their first airplane flight--and on the 8th day the moment comes when the decision must be made: will I or will I not be a soldier in the Airborne Troops. For on that day the parachute jumps begin.

A military assignment to Krosno commits a recruit to completing the parachute course. That is an order which must be followed. But each of the students must independently make the decision to jump with a parachute, and each of them has the right to refuse to jump from an airplane.

There are occurrences of refusals to jump, even at the last minute, when a potential commando with parachutes on his back and shoulders is already flying in an airplane. However, these are very rare. A few others are not allowed to jump because of insufficient progress in mastering theory and drills on the devices or because of the vicissitudes of fate, for example, an unexpected illness. On the whole, however, these are rare occurrences, not exceeding 10 percent of the student body. The remainder, in other words, the decided majority, make appropriate progress during the instruction and do not "fall apart" before jumping from the airplane.

Thus as was said, on the eighth day the course participants enter an An-2 airplane in full parachute gear--main parachute on the back, reserve parachute on the chest, and protective helmet on the head. The door closes, the airplane takes off, 10 concentrated faces accompanied by an instructor for a flight of a few minutes to an altitude of 600-800 meters await the moment important for each beginning paratrooper, the moment of the first jump. Some try to joke, but each experiences these minutes in his own way. A lesser or greater feeling of fear stares each in the face. But, after all, each of the future commandos has decided to be brave. And courage is nothing else but the conquering of fear. Thus it is necessary to conquer fear. For who of the young men would not like to be brave? Each would like to. And now the moment of demonstrating courage has come.

The door of the airplane opens. A rush of air bursts into their midst. Below is the large, green, grassy area of the airfield. To each jumper the instructor attaches the parachute line to the airplane and then with a gesture urges him to jump. The paratrooper--for so each of the students can already be called--stands in the door and after a moment resolutely, in the manner learned, pushes away from the airplane. In 3 seconds a man is rushing toward the earth at a speed of 200 kilometers an hour, and the line attached to the airplane causes the parachute to open without any help from the jumper. In a rather violent manner the previous falling speed is checked. The large, round, white or khaki-colored canopy of a SD-1M landing parachute (of Polish production) opens.

The fear before the jump has vanished, and there is great joy from conquering one's misgivings, from the slow, majestic flight toward the ground. There remains only the landing--face to the wind, feet together, knees slightly bent (the instructors' directions are recalled)--and a big smile of joy spreads across a young face.

"I have completed the first jump! I will be a commando! I have earned the red beret of a soldier of the Airborne Troops!" The next 2 jumps from an airplane in the next 2 days are also a highly emotional experience, but already different from that during the first jump. Now it is simply the result of a decision made earlier.

On the 12th day the future commandos turn in their military uniforms and red berets. They are again civilians, but now with the experience of initial parachute pre-schooling. They return to their homes where they will be able to boast of completing the course in Krosno and their first jumps from an airplane. In a few months they will go into the army. If they doggedly persevere, they will be soldiers in the famous 6th Pomeranian Airborne Division. Still awaiting them are much study and varied exercises. For it is not easy to be a true commando. As was already said, this is service for the most competent and the bravest. A successful examination is the "commando pre-school" in Krosno, however, is a good beginning on the road to achieving that goal.

The students' satisfactory progress in Krosno would not be possible without the intensive work of the cadre of the Subcarpathian Aeroclub--Parachute Training Center. Thus we will name at least those who directly instruct and contribute to the successful results of the schooling: the head of the parachute training Stefan Chmura; the instructors--Zenon Brongiel, Jan Czernieki, Janusz Foszcz, Leszek Gumul, Stanislaw Maciejewski, Wieslaw Skwara, Tadeusz Wesolowski, Tadeusz Wieczorek, Jozef Matuszewski from the Wroclaw Aeroclub, and Wladyslaw Urbus from the Lodz Aeroclub; the parachute packers--Jerzy Kordecki, Boguslaw Pelczar, Leszek Urbanik, Zbigniew Tarnowski, Wieslaw Tomasik, Andrzej Tomkowicz, Juliusz Waclawski, Maciej Zajchowski; and others.

Photographs:

1. A paratrooper's jump from an An-2 airplane.
2. Exercises at the parachute training ground: on trapezes with a parachute harness...
3. ...on a rhenium ring...
4. ...on the parachute ramp...
5. ...and on the gyroscope rotary ring.
6. Before the jumper enters the airplane, the instructor checks the parachute one more time.
7. After the jumps. Now only putting the parachutes into the bags is necessary.

Photographs on the cover show recruits waiting for their turn to jump and the next group of future commandos on their way to the airplane.

Photographs: B. Koszewski (4), H. Kucharski (2), and archives.

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2600/761

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--Prof (Dr Habilitatus) Jan Sajkiewicz, former prorector for teaching affairs at the Radom Higher School of Engineering, has become the new rector of that school. [By bd] [Excerpt] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Jul 82 p 2]

WOZNIAK, YOUNG WORKERS--A consultative meeting of the Voivodship Committee Secretary with a group of working youth from the largest industrial plants in the region took place at the PZPR Warsaw Committee on 12 July. Proposals for cooperation between Union of Socialist Polish Youth boards and party committees in the implementation of the most urgent socioeconomic tasks were presented at the meeting, which was conducted by Marian Wozniak, candidate Political Bureau member, Central Committee Secretary and First Secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee. The necessity of broadening the inclusion of youth in the process of improving the functioning of the state was stressed in the discussion. The natural dynamism of youth, its innovative approach, especially in technology, to the organization of workplaces in contemporary fashion and the building of effective administrative structures, are all conducive to this process. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jul 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/802

DOMESTIC, FOREIGN PROBLEMS TREATED IN RCP PLENUM

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Ceausescu Seeks To Blame Others"]

[Text] At the last big "ideology plenum" of the expanded communist Central Committee at the beginning of June in Bucharest the Breath of fate brushed Romanian author Paunescu: this day, he proclaimed after Ceausescu's programmatic speech, has "already become a part of history" and the speech of the president awakened sensations in him like the memory of Mihail Viteazul's victory over the Turks nearly 300 years ago.

In his speech before the expanded plenum of the Central Committee, Ceausescu had in fact called for a large military review: with the exception of foreign debts and the practical inability of the country to pay, he had hardly left any aspect of history and life in Romania today unmentioned. He had also elucidated in great detail the international situation and the great efforts by Romania for peace.

In the view of many observers the so-called "ideology plenum" in Bucharest meant a further increase in the course of accelerated objectives which has always been identified with Ceausescu's name. While just a few weeks ago the party agitators in the country were speaking of "errors" which had previously been made and which an effort was now being made to correct, the Romanians were now hearing from their leader's mouth that the way to communism is not without difficulties, but one cannot come to a halt half way down the road. There is no need of any kind to alter the basic orientation of economic policy--and this will not be done, either.

Ceausescu moved quickly to mobilize nationalistic emotions in respect to all critics of his economic policy. He said: "Several theoreticians and economists abroad" challenged the Romanian people's ability to establish industry and wanted to view Romania in the future, too, as a weak agricultural country. In this connection the Yugoslav newspaper NIN calculated that for years now Romania had invested up to 32 percent of its national income into industry while in the other CEMA countries the average had been only 25 percent. The Romanian leader also said nothing about the fact that the advanced European industrial countries as a group have by no means destroyed their agriculture in spite of industrial development, but rather, on the contrary, have continued to develop it very effectively.

"Difficulties Because of Too Little Socialism"

Ceausescu completely rejected any notion that the present situation in Romania was in some way or other conditioned by the socialist system. He said that on the contrary the difficulties in Romania and also in other socialist countries were not the result of too much socialism, but of too little. Broad aspects of his speech had to do with the search for scapegoats. Ceausescu found them not least in his previous government; he said that it "did not fulfill its tasks," its replacement in no way had the character of a simple rotation. Ceausescu placed all these observations in the context of the historical development of the Romanian people. The appeal to nationalist feelings was seldom so direct.

Since this plenum, Ceausescu has suggested on trips to the western regions of Siebenbuerger close to the border that the time has now come when the national minorities would also have to integrate themselves into the Romanian national somehow. Finally, he kept continuously repeating that everything had been jointly established. Among both the members of the Hungarian and the German minorities the fear has surfaced that the new turn in Ceausescu's policy might introduce a further diminution of national tolerance on the part of the regime. Whether there exists a connection with the difficulties which have been in existence for some time in respect to the emigration of the Romanian-Germans and with obstacles which are getting increasingly greater and which the barely 2 million Hungarians find in the case of contacts with their motherland, is at the moment hard to foresee. There are rumors that the foreign language publishing house "Kriterion" is to be liquidated in the wake of a reduction in the concessions which to date have been granted to the national minorities.

Ceausescu demanded that in school national history must be studied better and more intensively. Without mentioning Hungary he suggested a conference of historians in the event that "certain people" should not be in agreement with the Romanian interpretation of history, especially of Siebenbuerger. He further appeared irritated about "religious phenomena" by which he meant certain sects. This is evidence of the fact that the reports about difficulties with a group called "Transcendental Meditation," which ostensibly was able to become firmly established in the functionary setup, actually did exist.

Since the ideology plenum at the beginning of June Romanian representatives have been appearing abroad and opposing "defamations" of all kinds. It is "insulting" to represent the Romanian economic policy as wrong or to speak of a "serious supply situation" or to speculate about relationships of relatives between high functionaries and the Ceausescu couple or even to make a problem out of the nonpayment of foreign debts.

"Peace Policy" As a Diversionary Tactic

Rarely in the history of communist countries had there ever been such a massive and unconcerned attempt to disregard realities and to force on the international public a totally different representation of conditions. Romanian citizens who had contact with foreign journalists were openly threatened with

sanctions. The law which requires Romanian citizens to report immediately any contact with a foreigner to the police had never been repealed during the entire Helsinki era. It is once again being rigorously applied. Also diversion with a "peace policy" is being carried on by Ceausescu on a grand scale. Once again the citizens of Romania are supposed to sign a large appeal for peace.

Romanian reality at present is being written not only in Bucharest. The International Monetary Fund must decide soon whether it wants to totally or partially grant the remaining portions, which were blocked last fall, of the credit line issued to Romania--the total amount available is approximately \$1.2. A kind of package solution appears to be in the offing in that at the beginning of July in Paris the concluding of a conversion agreement between Romania and the governments of the creditor countries concerning the obligations due in 1981 and 1982 is scheduled. This is approximately \$3 billion with a total debt level of between \$11 and \$14 billion depending on the method of computation. The agreement will, however, apply only to state or state-guaranteed credits.

Private banks are being put off to a special conference in the fall and are consequently at a disadvantage. Their demands due are said to amount to approximately \$900 million in addition. Also there are overdue unpaid bills for goods amounting to about \$700 million. Observers now express doubts whether Romania can at all meet, as planned, the conversion agreement which will range over 6 years.

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'SCIENTIFIC ATHEISM' ALONE CANNOT ERADICATE RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 1 May 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Serban Clonof: "Humanism and Atheism"]

[Excerpts] We still find today, in various texts and textbooks, a term which, in its time, had vehemence and harmful results, more than one might imagine at first. This term is "scientific-atheism" and we still find it used by men of good will. Animated by the best intentions, they sanctify it, transforming it, willy-nilly, into a quasi-religious concept, a panacea with universal application, with miraculous, immediate effects, a kind of absolute solution, an indefatigable and infallible remedy.

We know that illuminism, under concrete political, social, cultural, and, last but not least, economic, conditions, placed special emphasis on enlightening minds, on raising the cultural level and the level of civilization of the individual and the social collective. An immense and fully justified effort. But this, we repeat, took place under certain conditions, in certain circumstances and perfectly suited certain moments in the evolution of society. Today we must ask ourselves if the simple effort of assimilating and thoroughly studying the values of Romanian and world science and culture, both classic and contemporary, is enough to affirm our revolutionary humanism. What must be done so that the younger generation, which has the highly responsible task of being the bearer and promoter, as a true, powerful social force, of the future of the socialist nation, will think and act in the spirit of our abundant, militant, revolutionary humanism?

Before responding, let us examine this term "scientific atheism" which, fortunately, is beginning to lose its superficial lustre. Is the fact that one does not believe in God or does not admit the existence of God sufficient to eliminate every mystical or religious conviction or attitude? A flagrant contradiction of this idea is the proliferation in the West of anti-humanist and anti-progressive sects, religious groups which set themselves up outside the law. This is a phenomenon which, in my opinion, requires, to a greater extent, a careful and concrete examination on the part of psychologists, sociologists and, last but not least, political scientists.

Certainly, under the conditions of contemporary capitalism and of the crisis in its system, the vehemence with which the most insane precepts of some sects, openly anti-humanist and anti-progressive, are being propagated and put into minds, even in large collectives, should not be surprising.

But why is there this intense activity of proselytizing, even in our country, by some religious groups under conditions in which the statute on religions in our country, ratified by law, absolutely forbids them to do this? Not only their anti-humanist and anti-progressive character but also their anti-patriotic and anti-humanist tendencies are no secret to anyone. Taking advantage of the difficulties which can arise, especially in the case of a young person at the age when his ideals of work and life are being formed and confirmed, and introducing certain circumstances, certain hesitations into the moral plane, in an impermissible and fraudulent manner, these sects are extending their venomous tentacles, attempting to divert the normal course of the life of these young people, to lead them astray toward some waves, to win them over, for base and narrow interests.

Therefore, there is need not only for the dissemination of progressive scientific-cultural knowledge (something which is very necessary) but also for an intense humanistic, revolutionary, moral and political, persistent and concrete, educational work for the establishment and generalization of new relations of collaboration, friendship, confidence and mutual assistance, for the creation of a climate in which the individual, especially the young person, will assert his entire creative capacity.

THEORY, PRACTICE IN PARTY LEADERSHIP

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 82 pp 16-20

[Abridged excerpt from a discussion by Ion Bold, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Constantin Ciocan, Council for Workers Control of Socioeconomic Activity, Mihai Chioresan, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Olivia Clatic, secretary of the Party Committee in Bucharest University Center, Ion Mitran, deputy chief editor of ERA SOCIALISTA, Pavel Nadiu, secretary of the Arad County Party Committee, Marin Nedelea, activist in the Propaganda Section of the RCP Central Committee, Bratu Paun, prorector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Gheorghe Spineanu, director of the Prahova County Party Cabinet, Sergiu Tamas, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Sciences and Study of the Minorities Problem]

[Text] One of the main conclusions to be drawn from the socialist revolution and construction is the necessity of uniform party management of those processes. In noting this conclusion, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the whole history of Romania's socialist development demonstrates the correctness of the RCP policy in creatively applying the general truths to Romania's particular conditions. The discussion of this subject arranged by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and ERA SOCIALISTA is keeping with the current efforts in the ideological field to examine the processes, ways and means of further improvement of social-political management in the light of current theoretical problems and the practical aspects of party leadership. We are publishing an abridgment of part of the comments made in the course of the discussion.

MIHAI CHIOREAN: The far-reaching process of national economic development and the multiplication and diversification of social-political and cultural-educational aims enrich the forms and content of political management as social and production relations are constantly improved. The emergence and development of a new dialectical relationship between the party as a leading political force, the working class, and the other social classes and categories of Romanian society are clearly reflected in the ways party life and activity are becoming more and more closely involved with the life and work of the entire people. To this end the party documents call for a more thorough study and understanding of the party's basic role and characteristics and an end to conceptions that belonged to other stages and realities.

Like any living organism, the party has undergone and is undergoing new qualitative changes in keeping with the changes in society and in its own organizational and social structures.

As it is constantly improved, the system of party-mass interaction is particularly stimulated by its expanded role as an active and persevering promoter of democracy in all social activity. The last few years have been characterized by fruitful efforts to find effective ways of exercising socialist democracy and of all workers' actual participation, in institutionalized forms, in the act of making and implementing the social-political decision. By reflecting the common interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the entire people, by initiating and promoting various ways and means for the participation of all social classes and all categories of workers in social management, and by providing for the workers' consensus and democratic expression, the party policy clearly reflects the will of the entire people.

MARIN NEDELEA: The theoretical and practical importance of an in-depth analysis of the whole matter of party leadership in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society is more than clear and, in fact, this very discussion proves it. Moreover its creative treatment meets a broader need felt internationally in these times, both in the socialist countries and the nonsocialist world. Experience tells us that the political fact of the communist and labor parties' existence and activity under very diverse conditions and circumstances calls for careful reappraisal of some concepts to which we have become accustomed in the tradition of Marxist political culture.* That is what the party secretary general advises us in pointing out the need of better analysis of the conception of the party and its social role "in the light of the social realities, the revolutionary reforms and social changes that have taken place, and the new stage of Romanian social development."

I should like to make some points here concerning the historical evolution of the RCP's role and characteristics.

Of course the first and most important characteristic of the RCP, peculiar to its entire existence and activity, is that of a revolutionary party. The concept of revolutionary in the Marxist vocabulary primarily meant a party of rejection and overthrow of the bourgeois order. And when the old theory no longer fitted the facts, when revolutionary parties came to lead construction of the new society, some theorists were in a quandary. They wondered if that development was revolutionary and explained by quoting Marx that the respective development would be only socially and not politically revolutionary. But it is clear and experience proves that the evolution of socialist society toward communism is revolutionary in every respect, and that calls for a broader and also dynamic definition of a revolutionary party in keeping with the new fact in order to describe such a party in the stages following acquisition of political power. A number of bourgeois or ultraleftist ideologists and propagandists do not hesitate to exploit the relative lag in the concepts with which the Marxists operate by maintaining that the Communist Party in power is ceasing to be revolutionary and becoming conservative in defense of an allegedly petrified system, and that social upheavals and the overthrow of socialism are needed for

*In the sense of their refinement, enrichment and creative development.

revolutionary progress. Of course an analysis of the evolution and a clear description of the content of the new features of the organization and activity of the party of the working class are needed not only to combat these obviously motivated assertions but also by the whole process of socialist development.

CONSTANTIN VLAD: The theory of the historical evolution of the party's role is based upon that of its historical legitimacy. That role did not spring up overnight of itself but follows from history as, I would say, one of the main features of modern Romanian history. The Communist Party rose to the role of a leading political force because it proved to be the political force that could provide solutions for Romania's development on the paths of progress, socialism and national prosperity. Its political role is the result of the confidence the working class, the workers and the entire people placed in it because of its actions and its consistent promotion of the ideals and values that serve and meet the interests of the entire people.

Even in a historical analysis it should be noted that this conquest of the people and this confidence of the masses in the party are not foregone conclusions beyond which we can view things in complacency and self-satisfaction. This confidence in the party must be and is constantly renewed. Remote or recent history records circumstances where a party's ties with the masses weaken, and that can lead from temporary difficulties to serious crises of a whole society. Therefore I attach particular importance to the RCP's analyses concerning the necessity of constantly renewing and maintaining close ties between the party and the masses, between the party and the people. Those ties permit organizational, political and ideological work to be effective and to make the party's political program a program of purposeful action of the masses.

It naturally follows from this that the relationship between the party and the working class must be analyzed. The working class is the class that openly claims its historical mission as a class that will lead the workers to communism under the guidance of its party.

But in contemporary capitalist society the bourgeoisie tries to misrepresent the fact that it is a leading class in society. Its decisive political role is hidden in general forms in the name of the general interest, but the working class has no need to deny or disguise its historical role. Some considerations of theoretical and practical importance depend upon this fact, and we are still doing little in social-political research to bring out this open assumption of its historical role by the working class as contrasted with the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party leads together with the working class and the entire people, not just in the name of the people and not instead of the people. It is significant that the working class and consequently the workers are in such a large proportion in the party and in the responsible positions in society.

The place of theoretical and ideological activity in implementing the party's leadership is a direction of the party's analysis but also of its political action. Marxism can solve the new problems presented by the evolution of contemporary society and construction of the socialist society, on one condition that experience tells us to consider, namely that the critical and self-critical functions of ideology and social theory are observed in the most authentic spirit in which the RCP promotes them. Problems arise at every step that must be solved, and the function of ideology is to help explain them with its resources.

Socialist ideology must not be limited to any particular aspects under the complex conditions of socialist construction. Marx said that ideology becomes false awareness when we cease to recognize life in a theory. The function of critical examination, as the party requires it in its documents, must be boldly and responsibly developed.

MARIN NEDELEA: The party's class character and its ties with the working class constitute a problem in theory that has been confused both by the libels of the ideological adversaries of socialism and by some communist parties' own mistakes caused in particular by their abstract interpretation of the problem overlooking the real, living working class with its level of awareness and actual needs. In the period after acquisition of power especially, misunderstanding or refusal to accept the principle that the party does not lead or govern in the name of the working class but together with it served to aggravate some contradictions peculiar to those stages and to proliferate some dogmatic principles.

The problem of the relationship between the party and the masses also involves that of the role and position of other social groups of workers. It is well known, for example, that the enemies of socialism deliberately exaggerate the partially inherent contradictions in the political and cultural status of the intelligentsia under socialism in the attempt to establish a discrepancy between the nature of intellectual work and the party's management of society. As we know some of the western communist parties have responded to this problem by recommending particular stands on matters of culture, ideology and philosophy.

The picture of the party itself as an intellectual collective analyzing problems and submitting answers to the judgment of the masses has also been broadened somewhat. Of course the suitability of these particular stands is both a question of their relationship to the particular conditions of time and place and a broader theoretical question. At any rate, it shows that the relationship between the party and the masses is assuming new proportions in our era.

In socialist society the development and progress of social and party democratization (a problem mentioned at the start of the discussion by Mihai Chioresan) provide a broad field for theoretical analysis. Of course the various original methods and results used by the RCP and other communist and labor parties are of particular interest. On this subject we hear both the criticisms of those who reject on principle the idea of developing party leadership, seeing in it an alleged undemocratic, totalitarian evolution, and the criticisms of those who express their fear that some original ways of combining party and state or public activity promoted in Romania could lead, they say, to incorporation of the party in the state and to the disappearance of the differences between them.

To be sure narrow and distorted interpretations of democratization and attitudes disregarding full exploitation of the revolutionary creative potential of the whole system of Romanian party and workers democracy also occur on the internal level, but the essential fact is that the party is committed to consistent promotion of socialist democratization as a prerequisite for exercising its leadership.

The new conditions under which the RCP has operated, the historical lessons of the course it has taken, and the democratization of the new society have brought out another one of its basic features, namely its character as a patriotic national

party, a main exponent of the entire nation's interests, and an active but independent and autonomous detachment of the international communist and labor movement. The Communist Party's rise to the level of a national force necessarily involved its entry into the field of international problems, both on the level of the progressive and democratic labor movement and on that of international relations. The old conception of internationalism had to be corrected radically in order to develop and enrich it in full accord with the requirements of international solidarity as well as those of strict observance of independence, equality of rights, and noninterference in internal affairs.

Called into being by new political realities and new interparty relations, solidarity based on equality and autonomy is not only a principle of interparty relations but an intrinsic characteristic of the RCP in its present stage of development and the actual form taken by the proper relationship between the national and international.

SERGIU TAMAS: The political sciences' capacity for analysis and synthesis is an extremely broad and comprehensive subject involving two main levels of analysis, the level of political practice and exercise of the political will of the working class and the party, and the level of scientific knowledge. The question arises, how far do the results obtained in the social sciences meet expectations and perform their creative function? The secretary general has pointed out that the new demands of social progress require transition from solving the problems that arise in social evolution to formulating new problems and determining the problems of development. It is the mission of scientific knowledge to make an extensive creative effort to find the solutions to overcome the current contradictions of development, and as it has been critically pointed out, the social sciences and especially the political sciences are still largely discussing and explaining the contents of the party decisions. This effort to confirm the correctness of the prepared political policy is of course necessary, but it is inadequate when not supplemented by frank and bold exploration of the new social phenomena and the current contradictions of progress in order to plan new directions of social progress.

In order to meet these expectations the political sciences, and not they alone, are faced with the necessity of some renovations from within. Their methodology has proved inadequate to deal with the complexity of contemporary development. One of the factors for internal renovation of the political sciences is more intensive exchange with the results obtained by the other social sciences. The need is felt for greater efforts on the part of the political sciences to orient their studies in the direction of "social design." The socialist and communist ideal is to be implemented in practice through a system of specific institutions that will constitute the "architecture" of the society of tomorrow. The political sciences have heavy obligations to anticipate the architectural image of the society of tomorrow by a more sustained effort to seek original approaches and solutions to the problems of development, which will enhance their function of theoretical analysis and prediction of the course of socialism and communism. Any such subject commitment of the social sciences unquestionably requires a comparison of opinions and the courage to maintain new ideas, which are not always supported from the start.

In the first place the evolution of the Romanian political system is still a priority subject for investigation. The mechanism of the political system is

not fixed but subject to changes of various kinds. For example there is an intensive effort to find ways of integrating the party in social activity to make its leadership more effective, and that requires a bold approach to some aspects of the structure and operation of the political system that have been neglected in recent theory, and the highly complex problems of relations between the party and the state are involved in it. But it is a fact that the relationship between government and administration is underemphasized in the theoretical discussions. Some aspects of social administration have been overlooked because the relationships between the various components of the political system have not always been properly understood, and the responsibilities of the bodies engaged in social administration have been consequently impaired. I think such problems arising from the actual evolution of Romanian society should be the subject not only of a general theoretical discussion but also of an effort to design the best structures to perform those functions. Greater social effectiveness requires both a proper long-range orientation and an efficient administrative operation.

ION MITRAN: The comments made so far indicate that the RCP conceives and exercises its leadership in the entirety of the components of that function, that is in the unity of preparation of the general political policy, the political-organizational effort to apply it, the permanent position of its personnel and members in the midst of life, and a scheduled ideological activity in keeping with social experience and the ideals of the new order. This calls attention to some aspects of the influence of policy and ideology upon the thinking, awareness and way of life of the members of society, or more accurately the impact of political culture upon political practice. By political culture I mean civic and social competence and a capacity and readiness for active and effective participation in the solution of social problems. Moreover awareness of the possibility of effectively influencing decision making, directly or indirectly, plays an essential part in determining the reaction of the masses, psychosocial behavior and social-political attitudes.

Political culture, that individual capacity for joining social activity, that internal factor that expresses and explains people's actions, is instituted and shows results in a far-reaching, lengthy undertaking in the course of which ideological work, as an essential function of party leadership, serves to generate convictions, encourage civic attitudes, and shape the spiritual life of society. Thus the formation and generalization of an advanced, militant awareness and inculcation of political culture in the masses are based upon their mastery of the conception of their political avant-garde, the party.

For the RCP, the convincing quality of socialist ideology is based upon scientific principles, higher political and moral ideals, and the capacity to make realistic and relevant analyses of reality and to combat backward conceptions and outmoded ideas with arguments vitalized by the "test of fire" of experience, with concepts reflecting the changes in the economy, culture, science and international affairs, and with new phenomena and processes some of which are inherently contradictory. Rejecting preconceived theories or "models" and abstract-theoretical hypotheses to be forced upon experience that either evade or ignore the dialectics of social experience, theoretical-ideological activity, in its most diverse forms from the social-political sciences mentioned above by Comrade Tamas to literary-artistic creation, is an important factor for shaping political culture.

Alongside political practice properly speaking, a particular part is played in this process by ideological activity in its specific-institutionalized form of propaganda and the information media as a means of influencing people's awareness and their attitudes toward present or predictable processes and events. There is a clear interaction between establishment of the new order on the material level and gradual promotion of a world of attitudes, generalized states of mind and penetrating ideas based upon the social-political values of Romanian society. In the social-political literature this interaction has been and sometimes still is viewed in an idyllic, one-sided and spontaneous light. It is still believed that as soon as the environment representing the predominant material force of society is of a socialist nature, it also generates its predominant spiritual force ipso facto. But the aim of generalizing the communist way of thought and action is not automatically fulfilled of itself. Alongside the perfectible socialist social reality, it is the mission of ideological work to lend the party members especially but all workers as well the horizons of understanding and consequently of initiative and responsibility that can completely integrate them in the political system of socialist democracy. Social development has become extremely dynamic today, constantly giving rise to new facts and situations, positive and negative, pleasant and unpleasant, which must be more frankly and boldly explained and interpreted. This calls attention to the relationship between generalization of advanced, favorable experience and the occasionally low level of direct opposition to defects, failures and negative ideas, attitudes and behavior.

Since ideological work and the resulting education relate to the masses and public opinion not as inert objects but as living subjects bearing and evidencing convictions and behavior, it is clearly necessary to bring political culture to the level of political practice and the requirements of the institutional system of socialist democracy. Therefore we should examine, among other things, the causes of defects some of which have already been noted in the discussion like the routine tendencies of some meetings of the party or mass organization, duplication of efforts, consumption of social time to organize and schedule actions at the expense of prompt action properly speaking, and substitution of functions. In the last case, party committees and organizations often assume particular tasks and functions that actually belong to the mass and public organizations.

OLIVIA CLATICI: There is a clear correlation between the development of party leadership in all economic and political activities and the political and ideological level of the party members as a general requirement essential to decision making on the macrosocial level and in every particular field of activity as well.

It sometimes happens that the assignments of political-ideological work lose the concreteness we need by the time they go down through channels to the level where the primary organizations operate. For instance the principles of continuity of the revolutionary process call for constant restructurings, "breaks" and departures from the old qualitative state, while on the level of individual existence we must reconsider the existing data in that light. We know people in our work who have a good theoretical background but who cannot break with the old. Therefore continuity and systematization are required in training personnel, including those in the social sciences. Once you have abandoned your

studies and lost interest in knowing what is new in your field they are difficult to resume. The social sciences have now made important advances which many have not made the necessary effort to assimilate critically and incorporate in their system of training.

We know that education is the field perhaps the most involved in our future. We are providing today for training for 5-10 years ahead. But how will the specialists trained today make out after 10-15 years?

It is evident that personal interest in research and the teachers' scientific authority are considered important now in drafting the teaching plans and programs. I think the order should be reversed, not from the teaching plan drafted by a professor but from the finished product of his work. In the case of polytechnics, for example, we should begin with the qualifications of the engineer we are training. Let us see what he should know for now and for the future and let us determine where, how and what we are giving him in his training in the classes of the faculty and in the production shops.

I brought up these problems in my talk because I do not think there are any fields of work in higher education to be removed from party control. In training specialists in the general fields, for example, we must find ways to specialize, and we must concern ourselves with the student "peaks" and reconsider the conditions for pursuing the doctorate with attendance, which is a period of improvement.

GHEORGHE SPINEANU: It was pointed out in some of the comments in the discussion that in the whole process of creating the material and intellectual conditions for building socialism and communism, political-ideological and cultural-educational activity as a whole is of outstanding importance to party leadership.

The experience of the party organs and organizations shows that the effectiveness of political-educational work directly depends upon the way it is organized and managed and upon the competence and responsibility of the educational elements.

As we know, the councils for political education and socialist culture, which assemble the representatives of all mass and public organizations and institutions with educational functions, were organized on the county, city and communal levels and in the economic units according to the decision of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in November 1976. To show how operational and efficient these new elements have become and what problems are presented by uniform management of political-educational activity regionally, I shall present some aspects of the experience of the Prahova County RCP Committee in the field of political-ideological work, citing among other things the findings of a study of that subject we have made in the last few years.

In its uniform planning and organization of the work through the annual or quarterly schedules of political-educational activity, the County Party Committee proceeded from the requirements of socioeconomic activity and from the fact that under the current five-year plan the county must produce an industrial output of about 24 billion lei, or 104,000 lei per capita, that the agricultural output will be increased from 3.7 to 9 billion lei and investment projects to the value

of 35 billion lei will be implemented, and that a volume of goods will be delivered for export equivalent to about 19 percent of Romania's total exports. Of course these tasks were assigned in close correlation with the county's material and manpower potential. To provide for the conditions for implementing the economic tasks, strengthening labor discipline, indoctrinating people with a high sense of social responsibility, and developing the opposition to the existing defects are major objectives of the political-ideological work.

Those tasks and objectives are pursued, for example, in connection with the work in oil fields and mines, at construction sites, and in transport, trade and co-operative units. Particular measures must be taken in all fields to raise the political-ideological standard and to enforce the Code of Socialist Ethics and Justice.

Educating and training youth for work and life are regular features of political and cultural-educational work. The schools and party and UTC [Union of Communist Youth] organizations play a decisive part in this, realizing as they do that there are now over 220,000 pupils and students in the schools and faculties of our county.

These major problems cannot be treated simplistically through formal statements and measures. Their solution requires the combined efforts of all educational elements under the guidance of the party organs and organizations. Analysis of the components of the regional (county) political-educational system and of the interactions and operational mechanism of that system indicates that it is the party's responsibility to manage the entire ideological-educational effort and to unify it in both its idea content and its courses of action.

The experience of the 100 local councils for political education and socialist culture in Prahova County confirms the usefulness of some ways and means they employ to organize and check the operation, such as monthly or quarterly calendars of the political-ideological and cultural actions and demonstrations and organization of weekly operational meetings analyzing the progress of the tasks and joint actions. In some cases, as it has been pointed out in another connection in the course of the discussion, inadequate correlation of the activities can result in certain duplications and overlapping of the work of these councils and that of the propaganda sections or county and municipal committees on socialist culture and education.

PAVEL NADIU: I intend to present some of the Arad County Party Committee's efforts to implement the leadership of the party organizations in the county and to integrate them as fully as possible in socioeconomic activity.

Arad County is undergoing a substantial development against the general background of socialist Romania's economic development. We have taken steps in this direction so that all personnel in the party's activity, beginning with the Bureau of the County Party Committee, will know the economic units and their tasks better and will cooperate with them in the performance of those tasks. As in other counties, all members of the Bureau of the County Party Committee and the Municipal Committee and the other activists are assigned responsibility for some economic units and capacities and the agroindustrial councils in the county for a rather long period. We do not intend this responsibility to be merely entered

somewhere on paper but to be implemented in the units for which they are responsible as a basic practical activity. By participating in the stage of plan preparation in the best possible assignment of the plan tasks according to each unit's potentials and knowing their internal reserves, party personnel can definitely help the economic units attain their indicators. Moreover in the activity in units and in the agroindustrial councils we can know the party personnel better, as well as the management personnel whom we have, and we can know them in actual practical activity.

Accordingly we stress the problems of practical activity in the instruction programs. At least half the time devoted to instruction on the level of the County Party Committee is spent in the economic units in industry and agriculture and in the party organizations.

In connection with the organizational aspects mentioned by Comrade Chiorean at the start of our discussion, in Arad County we intend to correlate the party's organizational structure with the requirements and the changes taking place in the socioeconomic structure of the county. We can state that it harmoniously combines all fields of socioeconomic activity. In the process of numerical and qualitative strengthening of the party organizations, we are pursuing suitable proportions of workers, peasants and workers belonging to the national minorities, with a steadily growing proportion of women.

Due to the processes of social and occupational mobility, a large part of the members of party organizations in villages are now working in units in cities and municipalities. Now we intend to strengthen the rural party organizations so that they will have a decisive voice in agricultural development.

It is apparent from our practical activity that control of the enforcement of party and state decisions is a critical problem for party activity. In the stages following preparation of decisions providing for development of the various sectors of activity (in view of the many problems to be solved in current operations), there is sometimes a risk of overlooking the essential aspect of organization of knowledge of the respective decision on the part of all communists and all workers.

CONSTANTIN CIOCAN: Organization and control of implementation of decisions clearly have a critical part to play in carrying out the political policy, and as it was pointed out at the latest plenums of the Central Committee, there are some serious defects therein. Control is one of the basic components of purposeful management of society and direction of its evolution.

As we know, the process of Romania's socioeconomic development and the stage reached in the second half of the 1960's made it one of the RCP's main concerns to determine the aims and methods of scientific management in the stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society. The documents of the National RCP Conference in December 1967 and July 1972 and those of the 11th RCP Congress started the efforts in this direction, involving study of the theoretical and practical bases of scientific management of Romanian society. In this connection, control serves as a lever not only to correct our actions but also to confirm the correctness of the adopted measures, so that it is an important means of checking the quality of administrative activity, the quality of personnel, and our possibilities of estimating our potential and the quotas we must reach in the developmental process.

The mechanism of control in Romanian society is so structured that actually the entire people are involved in its exercise. Social control is institutionalized and organized so that the workers can control, both directly and through representatives, current activities in all fields and on all levels, which lends it a profoundly democratic character. In fact the actions of all components of society are subject to the control of public opinion including the party, which is both the leading force in society and the main factor for influencing, forming and activating public opinion. We could say that essentially control by public opinion in the sense of control by all society is a result of the action of determination and control constantly performed in society by the party, state and mass and public organizations.

Workers self-management and self-administration are the latest and also one of the most advanced forms of control exercised by the workers. Transition to workers self-management marks the takeover of some of the state organs' functions by the workers collectives, the expansion of control by the workers in the economic and territorial-administrative units, and their greater responsibility for implementing the tasks assigned them. As we know the workers general assemblies have been granted the right to dismiss personnel elected to the management organs of the various organizations or to the management councils of the state and cooperative socialist units.

In the light of past experience, shortcomings in the activity of the management organs including the central ones must be pointed out with more courage and discernment and lags behind legal or other provisions that would interfere with the efficiency of the socioeconomic mechanism must be reported in time.

BRATU PAIU: On the basis of the RCP's conception that construction of the fully developed socialist society is a long-term revolutionary process, we must also accept the conclusion that the performance of the party's leading role in this stage and the development of its role are also processes in continuous development. I refer particularly to the process of forming its general policy to constantly reflect the people's basic interests.

As it has been pointed out in our discussion, organizing the implementation of the party's policy is a basic aspect of the exercise of its leadership, and we also note that ideological, political and educational activity to form the new man and to form and develop socialist awareness is also an important aspect of it. As a matter of fact these aspects were analyzed in depth in the first part of the discussion.

I think the problems of improving the party's management of society and the need of further improvement in the Romanian political system will have to be specially treated in the future, possibly in another discussion like this one.

The party's constant concern for its own members, for its own quality, and for its internal affairs in order to develop and keep improving its ability to exercise its leadership is itself an aspect of its role in society. Realizing that the tasks increase as we progress in building the new society, the party also develops its capacity to accomplish them. I have in mind here its organizational and political capacity but also improvement of the professional, political and all-around training of the mass of party members and party personnel. I am

also thinking of development of an internal party life that will lead to continuing improvement of the working methods and approach and to intensified party democracy.

ION BOLD: In speaking of development of the party's role in social activity in view of the revolutionary changes society is undergoing, naturally we are not referring solely to "finishings" and "improvements" made in our system but to the fact that the latter is in a process of qualitative change almost as radical and intensive as that in the most feverish stages of the revolution.

This lends a new significance to the concept of the people's moral-political unity around the party, a social unity of the social and national classes and categories alike and a symbiosis of members and nonmembers of the party. The way the party organs and organizations approach the workers is becoming more and more important, as well as their persuasive power, organizational ability and firm opposition to demagoguery, outbreaks of mercantilism and careerism, and other attitudes inherited from the old regime.

People's wishes, convictions and ideas are among the most objective realities that the RCP considers in formulating the policies, tasks and objectives of political and organizational work. Such an objective reality as the mass consciousness is becoming increasingly powerful, and the party's closer integration in all areas of social experience and activity conforms to that trend.

General, political, economic and social democratization and opposition to excessive centralism and bureaucracy form the general background against which the party's role in social activity is developing in the present stage. It is from its many ties with the workers of all social categories that the party's vitality is derived, and from those with the entire nation through its roots deeply implanted in all socioeconomic units and all administrative bodies.

The party's integration in social activity gives it its capacity to closely correlate the action of the objective laws under socialism with the purposeful action of the masses in the process of social change.

SHORTCOMINGS IN PERFORMANCE OF FEMALE GYMNASTS DEPLORED

Bucharest SCINTEIA (INERFUTUR) in Romanian 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Horia Alexandrescu: "Our Gymnastics at the Moment of Truth"]

[Excerpts] A month ago, in an article which aroused a number of comments and which was called interference in matters which are supposedly the exclusive concern of factors responsible for the fate of Romanian gymnastics, I sounded an alarm, pointing out that in the "internationals" in Rm. Vilcea, a number of mistakes had occurred. Mistakes made, especially, in the composition, organization and training of our female team or teams. We were told then that the "moment of truth" would come in a month, at the national masters championships, for which our gymnasts were in training. And they told us that there was no need to make such a fuss about the failure of the top trio, Cristina Grigoras, Emilia Eberle and Rodica Dunca, to participate in the Rm. Vilcea competitions for the simple reason that the respective competition had been left out of the training plan, on purpose.

And here we are, at the deadline, finding out that the "moment of truth" was not a cause for optimism, as we were promised, but even sadder than we had expected, indicating that the alarm which I sounded last month was perfectly justified. A number of exercises in the Constanta competition showed the precarious training of the competitors. Emilia Eberle appeared in Constanta to be beneath criticism, Rodica Dunca tried to save appearances by talent, and Cristina Grigoras, the case which hurt us the most, risked not only a serious accident but also a drop in morale, which was quite evident. All because of unsatisfactory training, either inadequate or incorrectly devised and implemented, which causes us to have serious doubts about the merits of the respective technicians.

Now, in Constanta, it has become obvious to everyone why Eberle, Dunca and Grigoras were absent from the "internationals," just as it has become clear that there must be basic changes at the team level--both in regard to the composition of the team and in regard to the collective of technicians. We do not think that anyone would be able to dispute the fact that the division of the national team into three groups has created striking differences among the athletes, differences resulting, in an objective manner, from the experience and merits of the teams of trainers.

We prefer not to name names so as not to be accused, once again, of interfering in affairs which do not concern us, although--and it is good to remember this--the way in which the team is composed, organized and trained is a matter of national interest! We hope that the leadership of the National Council of Physical Education and Sports will take firm and, especially, immediate measures.

We should remember that it is not absolutely necessary that the whole "good world" of our gymnastics be located in Deva! This center has been able to stand on its own (and it stands very well) but, in the meantime, Onesti has gone into eclipse requiring a refurbishing of the collective of technicians. The famous center on the Trotus has yielded first place to Sibiu and since Sibiu does not have any better conditions than Onesti, it is clear that the secret is the trainers.

It would be a good idea to revive other centers, which have become covered with the cloak of anonymity, (namely, Galati, Oradea and Ploiesti), and it would be just as opportune, in our opinion, to reconsider the work in Bucharest, Arad, Bala Mare and in all other cities of the country where gymnastics has expanded rapidly but is not completely satisfying the demands of high performance.

Fortunately, there is no lack of talented children. However, tomorrow's stars must be nurtured with much more concern and promoted courageously alongside the current stars of Romanian gymnastics, Lavinia Agache and Ecaterina Szabo. At the same time, even if it is painful, we must have the strength to eliminate athletes who believe that their names, their past success and just their appearance on the competition stage can assure them a place at the top. In any case, the sorrow will not be any worse than that which we felt when Emilia Eberle received the score of 0 (zero) nor will it be worse than when we come to the conclusion that it is too late to be able to change anything!

Can we, the ones who launched the careers of the wonder children of world gymnastics, cling to our former certainties, tittering around and doing commonplace handstands. Of course not, but we must get back our courage, optimism and complete confidence in our abilities! Let us separate the wheat from the chaff, the values from the pseudo-values and actual work from simulated work! Let us examine the trainers, seeing with what calling cards they came, to what extent they have justified the confidence placed in them, what they have done and what they have not done, drawing the line and making the balance. This balance is not hard to make since everything is clear, so clear that all that is left for the federation--about which we are pleased to say that it is showing, once more, the desire to recover the road to great successes--is to take strict measures. Quickly and firmly, because time is flying and things are not going in our favor!

NEED FOR DRAMA IN TIME WITH TIMES

Bucharest EPA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 82 pp 11-13

[Article by Andrei Baleanu: "Spirit of the Times in Dramaturgy"]

Text A great theatrical festival entitled "Anthology of Performances of Contemporary Romanian Plays" was held in Cluj-Napoca and some neighboring cities (Zalau, Alba Iulia and Bistrita) at the end of February and the beginning of March 1982. The popular and box-office success, public interest and attendance exceeded any expectations: 25,000 spectators in 8 days. Plays of some of the most representative contemporary writers were performed (Horia Lovinescu and Al. Sever, Dumitru Radu Popescu and Ecaterina Oproiu, Paul Everac and Teodor Mazilu, Tudor Popescu and Paul Corneli Chitic, Fanus Neagu and Dumitru Solomon). And since the productions on the billboard of the festival were selected from the eventful performances of the last few years, the outstanding success of this occasion enables us to draw some conclusions as to the actual significance of an eventful performance or an authentic theatrical event.

It should be noted in the first place that all these works, which the theater itself has designated as anthological (Of course they are not alone and others could be added to them), are characterized by the urgent timeliness of the dramatic discussion. They treat major subjects of our time variously and are very contemporary not only in the date of writing but particularly in the problems and realities that inspire them, in the authors' viewpoints, and in their idea content. This is an essential prerequisite for the reception they enjoy from the public, which reaches tens and even hundreds of performances. The theater is a public art, an art of the forum, and a theatrical performance lives only in its impact upon the contemporaries' consciousness and without that spontaneous, direct and immediate impact it is wasted upon empty halls and irrevocably lost in oblivion. A theatrical event is always a social event as well. Its magnitude depends not only upon the talent invested in its creation and interpretation but particularly upon the power with which it expresses, to repeat an expression of Arthur Miller's, "that which floats in the air," that which preoccupies to the highest degree, that which fascinates or disturbs, and that which polarizes attention and vitally touches people's interests the moment the curtain rises. Yes, the theater breathes only the air of the present, and therein lie both its nobility and, paradoxically enough, its perpetuity!

In their letters to Lassalle about his tragedy "Franz von Sickingen," Engels warned him not to be oblivious of "the real because of the ideal" and Marx advised him not to make his characters "mere disseminators of the spirit of the times." As a matter of fact, no "mere disseminators" could render the true spirit of the times. They could only reproduce its external sound. Occasional, superficial and topical works are ephemeral and have a limited impact. Dramas that express the spirit of the times profoundly, whether they treat current sub- or historical subjects allegorically or in a pedestrian, realistic way, go far beyond the current events that inspired or gave rise to them by virtue of their significance and artistic effect. For example, Brecht's parables placed in an exotic environment or in the remote past, Evghenii Svart's fables for adults, and philosophical plays like Duerrenmatt's "Romulus the Great," Camus' "Caligula," or Sartre's "The Devil and the Good Lord" embrace a whole era and are still fundamental works of this century, analyzing the ways of peace and war, right and wrong, and social and intellectual freedom in conflict with despotism of the fascist kind and transforming them movingly into acts of conscience. In Romania some of the first plays of Horia Lovinescu or Aurel Baranga, attacking sacred myths like elitism and the passiveness of the little man and reflecting a revolution in attitude, have kept their viability and recur in repertoires and critical discussions not only as evidence of past historical periods.

The abandonment of the great social subjects and the theater of ideas in the 1950's and 1960's explains the present repertorial impasse in the western countries, the prolonged silence of most of the famous authors, and the abundance of sterile experiments, occasionally interspersed with simple, human plays whose success is indicative of the general public's requirements. To be sure an important subject is discredited when treated without talent, but it is equally true that a talent wasted on an utterly insignificant subject is itself discredited. In a work of art both form and content have unlimited significance and both must be convincing in a perfect unity that we can separate into its component elements only upon analysis. The content is not external to the value, just as the human and social truth of the work is not external to it. A deceptive view of reality can impair the work of even the most finished stylist (Examples are not lacking in world literature). The successes of Romanian dramaturgy in recent years are not due to the increased proportion of form in relation to content but to treatment of more genuine conflicts sustained by more genuine characters under more genuine circumstances. In that way the Romanian theater has won a greater reception than ever by the public.

Record runs and popularity are won particularly by the original plays that approach contemporary realistic subjects directly. This live, current dramaturgy is in first place among repertoires both in number of premieres and in number of spectators, without requiring artificial "crutches" to support it in competition with foreign plays as it was once believed. But while crutches are not needed it does need a climate of understanding and encouragement, which the authorities in charge of the theatrical movement knew how to create and maintain.

By its controversial nature the theater always involves a struggle or conflict requiring a stand to be taken. It is made to dispel idyllic appearances and to reveal hidden contradictions, even when some try to conveniently overlook them. Two camps always confront each other on the stage, two opposite social types, two political positions or two attitudes requiring a dramatist to take the

responsibility for a choice. The dramatist's creative boldness lies in revealing conflicts smoldering in reality, in discerning and plainly defining the terms of the opposition of the new to the old and the apparent to the true, and in other words in revealing the truth to which a clear path does not always lead. Such plays, with a constructive social function, point to the causes of stagnation and lags, combat deceptive appearances and states of complacency, mobilize consciences and foster a higher ethic. Conflicts resolved beforehand are of no interest to the theater or society, contribute nothing to promotion of the new and bore the audience. A revolutionary theater cannot view things statically or passively but only in the light of their dialectical changes, when the theater itself becomes a factor for social progress and acquires a civic value thereby. The socialist theater is of a critical and therefore dynamic nature, and it refutes in order to affirm. Its critical spirit is a sign not only of artistic vitality but also of vitality of the society, which creates its "antibodies" against mental inertia. A timely play can be an event because it is not limited to repetition of truisms and because it raises questions with which experience confronts us, fosters discussion and solution of those questions, demonstrates the "strategy" of the old morals with their ever "new" mechanisms and subterfuges, and it sometimes constructs, in original artistic terms, an ideal model of human behavior and a "strategy" of the militant hero to perfect society.

Of course the direct social commitment of dramaturgy conflicts with neither the complexity of the characters nor the sinuosity of the plots, but it excludes sophistry and confusion for the sake of confusion and gratuitous verbal gymnastics. In the theater a whole system of characters and relationships, causes and effects and personal, ideological and social determinations must be stirred up in 2 or 3 hours, and the spectator cannot turn back the page (as in reading) to review a confused speech or to orient himself in a jumble of incoherent connections. This art demands crystal clarity. Obscure, vague and abstruse plays do not satisfy and are rejected by the public. Moreover such works, even when they are formally treating current topics, are confined to such abstract and general terms that they become practically atemporal.

Plays limited to absolute patterns, hackneyed in the theater and outmoded in experience, are equally untimely even if the "prefabricated" elements of which they are composed have the appearance of verisimilitude. Are there bureaucratic directors? There are. And servile and sycophantic underlings? That species also exists. And so where there is a bureaucratic director, one or more servile underlings, and an innovator who vehemently opposes the defects, the party organization will finally intervene in salutary fashion and there we have a timely play and even a "courageous" one, because it "dares" to defy a director and not a lesser functionary. Such plays are written, circulate through the files of the theaters, and are sometimes performed. Actually they are neither true nor courageous because they utter platitudes, and even on that quite unoriginal ground they convey only external aspects and do not analyze the underlying causes of social evils or find original, striking and revealing images that can lend impact to the treated subject. But it is clear to anyone that the bureaucrats or hierarchies of today no longer resemble the simplistic images in some dramatic works. On the contrary, they are men with a very modern appearance, clever, and "anointed with all the oils." They speak foreign languages, travel and sometimes cost society millions in losses out of incompetence, bad faith or carelessness. The fact that a good many superficial plays have been produced on "plant"

and "production" subjects indicates only that the world of material production, although it is central to contemporary social activity, has been and still is inadequately and superficially investigated artistically.

It is true that the theater is concerned with man and not with industry or agriculture, and "production subjects" would be a primitive idea from that standpoint. But let us not jump to a wrong conclusion. Efforts and aspirations in connection with labor and the conflicts caused by those efforts belong to the human universe and are of increasing importance in contemporary man's existence. Today they are the main form of the individual's participation in urban life. Man in his capacity as "homo faber" cannot fail to have a leading place on our theatrical scene. Naturally contemporary dramaturgy often seeks its heroes in the labor process, where they spend a large part of their lives and where their individual and social destiny is to a great extent decided. There is a contrast of urgent present concern and also of broad human generality between labor viewed as a mechanical, routine thing and as a form of creativeness and fulfillment of the personality, and it is obviously not included in the above-mentioned pattern. It is a quite frequent error to judge the characters in a drama by the function they are assigned in the script and not by the problems they discuss. Our society does not identify the human value with the function performed: There are faulty directors and faulty doorkeepers and exemplary directors and exemplary doorkeepers.

As we know, from the standpoint of Marxist aesthetics the general is expressed by the particular, but each particular image does not necessarily bear traits "typical" of all instances of the respective category. The dialectics of the general and particular in art have been analyzed in innumerable studies and articles, to the effect that a negative person belonging to any occupation or profession does not automatically reflect upon the whole craft or social function, and we are not about to repeat the arguments here. The fact that a number of dramas or satirical comedies charge persons in management positions with defects, errors or abuses reflects the democratization of Romanian socialist society. It is not whether he is a director, deputy director, chief engineer or whatever that matters, but the spirit in which the drama discusses his exercise of the power with which society has invested him. As a public forum, the theater also becomes a vehicle expressing (in an artistically pointed way) the community's right and duty to demand an accounting of its representatives for their fulfillment of the responsibilities with which they have been entrusted.

The artistic resolution of such conflicts requires an accurate account of the negative phenomena and their causes and a clear verdict on their incompatibility with socialist relations. But sometimes we still hear the conviction that this conclusion should be reinforced on the stage by administrative measures to restore the normal situation. It is not always understood that a play is not a copy of life and that its influence upon reality is not like "taking measures" but like presenting the truth. The theater is not concerned with dismissing unsatisfactory personnel and promoting deserving ones. Its mission is to stimulate independent thinking and not passive expectation of decisions from above. Plays conceived and constructed as if everything were predetermined from the very start for a simple, automatic resolution lull both the militant spirit and the theater audience to sleep. The best dramatic writing in recent years has generally eschewed such predictable and unconvincing finales pervaded by a facile, pedantic and counterfeit optimism. What is truly optimistic is the

unadulterated portrayal of a reality wherein nothing is resolved automatically and the audience is encouraged to abandon his passiveness, to feel responsible for the solution of the crucial problems of its time, to understand the social-historical necessity and to act accordingly.

Under the sign of the "participation theater" more or less formal procedures are often tried. The actors go down into the theater and converse with the audience or are seated in the midst of the public and react "in its name." They are ineffectual procedures because the audience has the feeling that the mechanism is regulated in advance and the game is "enclosed in an envelope" as in chess games by correspondence. A real participation theater presents the audience with the conflicts of life in the form of dilemmas which the audience itself is called upon to help resolve. As contrasted with the theater of the so-called "digestive" type, the audience is not a "consumer" but a partner therein. Refusing to conclude a convenient pact with the public without any mutual demands, the theater intends to produce an impact, to bring about a state of creative dissatisfaction, to launch unanswered questions, and to compel revealing answers with new perspectives. In his excellent comedy "Public Opinion" Aurel Baranga offered the audience several alternative endings. What would have happened, for example, if an old friend of his hero Chitlaru, who was about to be dismissed from the editorial board, had not happened to be appointed minister? In real life such events do not always turn out so happily. The play required the audience not merely to accept the conclusion imagined by the author but to consider several hypotheses, to make a choice and to take a stand. For whatever the denouement on the stage may be, the epilogue of a play is always played in the spectators' minds.

That is why I said the theatrical event is always a social event too. It produces both aesthetic satisfactions and changes in the public's thinking and emotional states, with indirect effects upon reality. Can the theater make us better, more sensitive, and more intelligent? Certainly. But the revolutionary theater aspires to go even further, not only to aid in character formation but also to direct characters toward knowledge of the truth by offering clear choices accordingly. The theater has been called an "idea plant," and ideas, as we know, do transform the world.

YOUTH MUST BE EDUCATED TO APPRECIATE THEATER

Bucharest EPA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 82 pp 13-15

[Article by Constantin Schifirnet: "The Theater and the Young Public"]

[Text] Discussion of the relationship between the young public and the theater naturally involves the problems of the educational and formative influences of the art of the theater.

In Romanian society, which has set out to form a new kind of human personality, primary importance is attached to the theater in improving socialist awareness and in people's spiritual renewal. As a cultural institution it is directly involved in the communist education of all social categories and naturally includes in its content the problems characteristic of the human world of socialist society.

Since socialism is the objective framework for complete fulfillment of the options, aspirations and needs of every social group and category, the young generation makes demands of its own upon the educational elements and consequently upon the theater. There are problems peculiar to the young generation that the theater, like any artistic creation, cannot overlook. The youth of today unquestionably have spiritual needs similar to those of other young generations but they differ in form and intensity.

As we know the youthful years are a critical stage in the formation of socialist awareness, convictions and views about the major problems of life and society. In this period the individual's ideals are formed, his great decisions for the future are made, and his social and political attitudes are crystallized. How are these characteristics of the young generation represented in the creative art of the theater? Although it should be pointed out that dramaturgy as well as the theatrical performances have been more concerned with some aspects of youths' lives, we should note nevertheless that a narrow view of the young generations' problems and a simplistic treatment of some of its troubles still persist. Minor facts and events have been presented that are not significant for the breadth and richness of youths' lives. I might also note the inadequate knowledge and interpretation of the characteristics of youth, as well as the lack of understanding and receptiveness to the new developments in their world. In general

the works intended to present youth abound in superficial characters devoid of authenticity and artistic credibility.

In subject matter, most of the plays and performances are about graduates born in cities and assigned to villages who, after a brief period of adjustment (as in a fairy tale) become the most convinced rural dwellers; about relations between generations that are very simply resolved, when the parents, very demanding and with certain moral principles, finally give way, understand the youths' problems and accept their options; about life at worksites, very romantic and unpredictable (Youths have a spirit of adventure, do they not?), in which, after a few hesitations and troubles, youths are integrated who have failed in college (especially in the theater and foreign languages) and who readily discover that it is possible to live otherwise; and about life and work in plants, where the young man is not very well understood at times during his professional debut (All the rest is perfect) but there is someone who befriends him, and then everything reverts to normal and he participates, with his whole being and whenever he is asked, in all the programs and even fights now for exemplary fulfillment of the plan tasks. That is approximately the obviously superficial picture that the plays and films about youth present to us. But the palette of the young generation is far broader, the range of their feelings, experiences and aspirations is much more diverse, and their attitudes and options are contradictory and sometimes unstable and insufficiently crystallized.

Every generation has its own way of assimilating values and relating to society, and the fact is significant that it knows particular ways of maturing socially and biologically that depend upon the conditions of its own development and education. The present generation of youths no longer accepts a mere listing of the principles and ideals of society and is no longer receptive to abstract truths but wants concrete arguments and clear answers to the complex problems facing it in life and in the process of training and education. Born and bred in the years of socialism, the young generation expresses aspirations and demands stimulated by socialist society itself and displays attitudes and options determined by the problems of Romanian social existence. But it goes without saying that youths' adherence to the high ideals of society does not mean that the youth of today is entirely homogeneous or that its particular convictions and needs are all the same. The new conditions of youth's development, radically different from those of the young generations before the war or in the first years of socialist construction, do not automatically contribute to the formation of its socialist awareness. The very effect of the conflict between old and new, typical of any kind of social organization, can bring about developments in youth's world that are not in keeping with the new communist values and behavior.

The theater is expected to investigate all these problems and to indoctrinate youth in the noble principles of social justice, the consistently humanistic ideals of the working class, and the struggle against oppression, falsehood and hypocrisy.

It is a natural requirement for youth to come in contact with theatrical performances of high artistic merit and a suitable idea content that will reflect its real experience, concerns and aspirations, works that can inspire it and also present advanced human models worthy to be emulated by youth in real life. The

theater's mission, among others, to educate youth in the spirit of truth, social justice, and love of fellow men and to foster patriotic feelings and respect for the Romanian people's glorious traditions. Hence flows the theater's responsibility for youth's patriotic, moral and civic education. By its content but also by its forms of artistic expression the theater can meet the requirements of the young public's indoctrination and of a revolutionary, profoundly humanistic conception as it prepares it to achieve the aims of socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu's comment on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the UTC [Union of Communist Youth] also applies to dramaturgy. "Youth needs a literature imbued with high evolutionary and patriotic ideals that will reflect the glorious past of the people's struggle and labor for the victory of socialism and will give youth the bright prospect of the struggle for communism and for the great aspirations and ideals of social and national justice."

The institution of the theater plays a fundamental part in the young public's education for the theater. The changes that take place in the theatrical art's modes of expression are perceived only if the public is educated for the purpose. The theater creates its public. Moreover, I might say that the model or what is called the opinion leader in social psychology is a catalyzing factor in artistic reception. Orientation of preferences, tastes and choices depends, sometimes critically, upon a person's attitude toward a given performance or the general "opinion" of that performance. And it sometimes happens that an artistic innovation will go beyond a certain way of viewing the theater and will introduce new values on the theatrical scene, which values are less readily accepted because the public is not prepared to perceive them. Reception is a highly complex process that does not come about automatically because of the individual's mere presence in the theater. Therefore the real theater includes among its constituent elements indoctrination of the public, and the young public in particular, in the spirit of the new values it is transmitting and of the new modes of artistic expression. In fact there is need of a new artistic sensibility in keeping with the newly created spiritual necessity of theatrical representation. This is another conclusive argument for the theater's educational function.

While conveying ideas and artistic and social messages, the theater educates the public for the purpose of its own self-development as an art and a social act. Moreover when we take up the theater's particular problems, we must view its educational function in interrelation with its communicating function. The theatrical art transmits a message in a language based on a code. Theatrical communication unquestionably differs from other kinds of communication especially in its particular language and in the way it transmits an aesthetic and conceptual message. The theater does not replace other means of communication in the sense that it does not transmit ordinary knowledge and information or theoretical, scientific and philosophical knowledge. The originality of a theatrical work lies in the original aesthetic way of transmitting aesthetic messages to express the spiritual needs of the public as well as the educational and ideological requirements of society. Mastery of the theatrical language is indispensable for proper reception of a theatrical performance. As we shall see below, part of the young public looks to the theater for extra-esthetic and extracultural information and is interested in grasping the anecdotes and action and less or not concerned at all with disclosing the proportions of this kind of art.

The public is unanimously accepted as an indispensable element of the theatrical movement, but it is sometimes regarded as a secondary factor. Moreover some commentators speak of the audience's inability to grasp what is peculiar to the theater as a work of art, so that the sole criterion for the public's acceptance of a performance is its success, based primarily on the extent to which a play arouses strong emotions in the audience and less or not at all on the aesthetic values of the theatrical work. Such a one-sided conception reflects a certain contemptuous attitude toward the public and in fact restricts the theater's power to influence the young audience, being reduced to its formal aspects, whereas on the contrary a theatrical performance has an obvious power to influence the audience. This is also due to the fact that while some of the arts, coming from past generations, are treasured in the original form, the theater is reconstructed by each generation and each period in the light of the ideals and aspirations peculiar to the social groups or individuals. Renovation of the theater's means of artistic expression also depends upon the public, especially the young public, because it can impose linguistic formulas upon dramaturgy that are in keeping with the new spiritual requirements of the moment.

Interest in the theater reflects the youths' rising cultural level. The options for this kind of art are based upon a broad cultural horizon. I might speak of changes that have taken place in youths' preferences for theatrical art, and that situation presents the following problem: Are these changes commensurate with the rise in the young generation's cultural level? Do the youths' cultural aspirations correspond to their potentials for reception? How far do the repertoire and the general organization of theatrical activity meet the youths' demands and needs? They are questions that arise when youth's relationship to the theater is analyzed and in which social research is trying to explain the cultural behavior of the present young generation.

That effort includes a number of studies made in recent years by research institutions, including the Research Center for Youth Problems. Such social studies made among the various categories of youths indicate their interest in the theater. The specific studies made by the CCPT [Research Center for Youth Problems] with a sampling of 2,000 youths, workers, pupils and students in seven counties and Bucharest municipality showed that the theater is one of the cultural activities most frequented by youths. Their interest in the theatrical art includes both performances in theaters and the TV and radio theatrical broadcasts. This distinction is probably to be explained by the need felt by some youths to receive the theater in more attractive and dynamic ways (those who prefer theaters) and by others' lack of adjustment to the conditions of viewing in theaters (those who prefer radio and TV). The influence of the mass communications media on the ways of viewing the theater is powerful and plays an important part in the cultural behavior of some large categories of youths and especially those who have known the theatrical art through TV and radio, a fact due to lack of theaters in the localities where they were born (especially in villages) and also to nonattendance at the theatrical institution.

The structure of interest in the theater in relation to the initial means of contact with the theatrical art has consequences worthy of consideration in connection with the aspirations and preferences for the theater. Thus we shall note, concerning the kind of theater preferred, that the proportion of the investigated youths opting for the musical theater (reviews and varieties) is

higher than that of those preferring the prose theater, the musical kind predominating particularly among youths in industry, industrial high school pupils, and students at the technical faculties. Accordingly for some youths the theater is identified with the theater of entertainment, which is indicative of a simplistic interpretation of this cultural activity as well as inability to strictly distinguish the various cultural genres. Such behavior is also encouraged by the repertoires of some theaters, especially in some areas of Romania, which include many comedies of poor artistic quality. Various correlations of the youths' cultural options with their reasons for attending the theater bring out the relationship between the explanation for attending the theater of instruction and interest in symphonic music and the literature of psychoanalysis, while the respondents who explain attending the theater of entertainment display an interest in light music, literature of adventure, etc.

The main conclusion drawn from the foregoing data is that the option for the theater is part of a cluster of cultural motives and interests that affect its content. The investigated youths' definite preferences for plays and performances are an argument in favor of this assertion. The essential problem we must consider is not so much the extent of youths' attendance of the theater but what explains their interest in that cultural genre. This also confirms an idea mentioned above, namely that the youths pay particular attention to the anecdotes, stories and minor aspects and are not greatly interested in the conceptual message. They usually identify the performance with their interest in the actors who perform, their interest in what happens on the stage being focused on performers. To be sure we cannot overlook their need to identify with a model, which is provided either by an actor or by a character, but mere identification unaccompanied by a critical spirit and cultural attitudes is due to a low level of cultural background and simplistic interpretation of the theater. A discrepancy has arisen between the theater's natural tendency to renovate its modes of expression and some youths' actual ability to perceive the artistic innovations and to grasp the thoughts and intentions of the producers of the theatrical performances. All this indicates that there are gaps in the youths' theatrical education, and hence the necessity of definite measures on the part of the educators to rationalize the whole process of the young generation's intellectual training. The schools still have a vital part to play in the youths' cultural instruction, but we feel the cultural institutions, especially the theatrical ones, also have heavy obligations in this respect.

The young spectator is initiated in the secrets of the theatrical art in many stages according to an instruction methodology. Meetings of the youths with the theatrical collectives are usually arranged for this purpose, but most often they are perfunctory, ineffectual and of no theoretical or practical advantage to the youths or the theatrical people. The theater must be involved in the youths' education on the inside of it, using its personnel and facilities. The youths' initiation in the theater is inconceivable outside the theater where the artistic works are produced and transmitted. Their presence in the auditorium requires acceptance and observance of particular standards of a behavior different from that in everyday life. In the course of this program more use must be made of the educational and instructive values of their preferences and aspirations in their education for the theater, because the present young generation has its own cultural interests that differ in part from those of the adult generation and also from those of the preceding young generations. In this way we think

we could change the theoretical and practical viewpoints in cultural activity in general and consequently in theatrical activity too, that is by abandoning the exclusive use of the young public's cultural orientation in the culture preceding the contemporary one first. Education for the classical theater should proceed from what the youths prefer. It was noted in the above-mentioned investigation that a large part of them display interest in the plays that discuss problems characteristic of their age group. Youth's education for the theater and for attendance of all categories of performances with the idea of knowledge and mastery of the moral, social, political and aesthetic values characteristic of Romanian socialist society would be easier to accomplish by gradually familiarizing youth with the real theater. That requires a knowledge of their actual preferences on the part of the dramatists.

Since youths represent a large part of the theater's public of today and especially of its public of tomorrow, they must be educated for the theater by comprehensive long-term programs in the light of the changes in the theatrical movement and in social experience.

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